PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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September—December, 1970

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Notes and Comments — Documents

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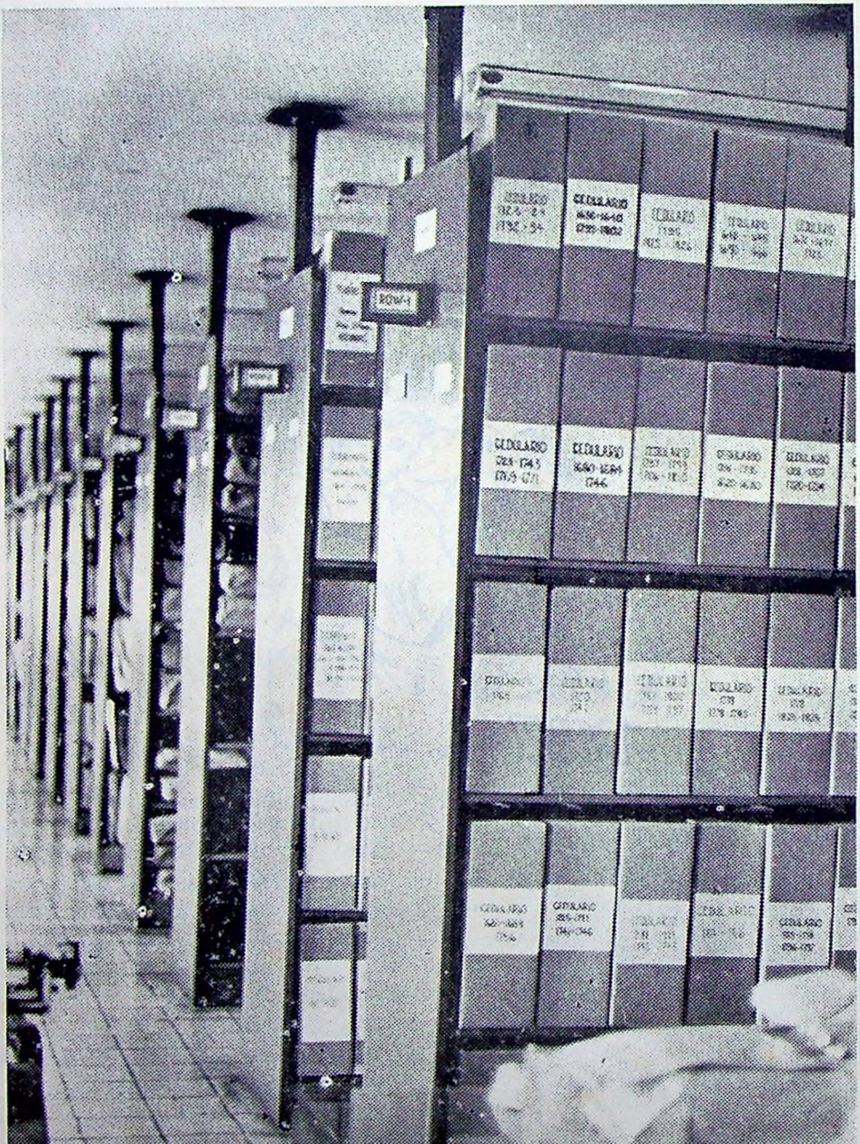

The Philippine National Archives showing a portion of its file in its present location on T. M. Kalaw street, Manila. (Photo courtesy of Dr. Domingo Abella)

The Philippines in 1903

Gustavus Ohlinger

With Notes by Mauro Garcia

GUSTAVUS OHLINGER, the author of this journal, was born to missionary parents on July 15, 1877, in Foochow, China. At the age of 15, his parents brought him to the United States to continue his education which up to this time had been entirely in British secondary schools in China and Korea. He graduated from Ann Arbor High School and then entered the University of Michigan. After taking his Law degree at Michigan in 1902, he decided to return to Foochow to visit his parents before establishing his law practice in the United States. The journey which he had originally planned to take no more than six months turned out to be a three-year odyssey and included six months of legal work in Manila and a thriving practice in Shanghai. Mr. Ohlinger had desired to return to the United States by way of Russia but was prevented from doing so because of the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in which Russian ports of entry were blockaded by the Japanese. During these years, he kept a detailed account of his experiences and observations. The following is an extract from his diary covering his stay in Manila from May through October, 1903.]

Manila — May 11. — Towards noon bold, blue hills came in sight. At places they were heavily wooded — in others they were quite barren. We passed Corregidor on our starboard. Cavite was indistinctly visible on our right. Gradually the low lying line of buildings of Manila came in sight. The *Rubi* cast anchor and the customs officials came aboard and began to take declarations of property and to examine into trunks. It was dusk by the time the launch pulled off from the ship with us on board. The lights began to twinkle at intervals in a long line, and I concluded we were facing the famous Luneta.

We steamed up the Pasig river for a short distance, passing a number of coasting steamers which were moored along the sides. I also remarked the long, narrow covered cargo boats which are peculiar to the Philippines. They carry enormous rudders as they are not provided with keels.

The launch left us at the quay and me to my loneliness and feeling of loss. I walked a short distance and then turned into an open place. I soon concluded that I could not find my way about, and finally succeeded in rousing a carromata *cochero* and inducing him to take me to the Metropolitan. He whipped his poor little stunted horse viciously and we went bouncing along over the stone and cobble pavement.

I was landed at the Metropolitan Hotel — a dirty, dingy, hot, stuffy place. After considerable consultation among the clerks and managers I signed from Chicago and was ushered into the tortures of my room. We passed down a long narrow passage with heavy curtains hung in front of the doors on either side. This effectually prevented the circulation of what little air might be moving. In this abode I spent three weary days and as many sleepless night.

Manila — May 12. — In the morning I walked over to the Palacio to present myself to Attorney General Wilfley. I was very cordially received by a genial, well-built man of fine countenance and good eyes. I at once perceived the justification of all Mrs. Johnson had told me of the judge. Also saw Miss Gilmore and had a long talk over old times.

With an acquaintance whom I met at the hotel I then drove around the city. We called at De Frier's house. We had considerable trouble with one carromata and aggravated one situation by climbing into another. The horse at once began to spin around like the horses on a merry-go-round, which was indeed amusing and interesting, but did not help us on our way. I teased the cochero, much to his disgust, by praising his horse as a *bueno caballo.*

In Manila I saw what Munroe had told me of — the tombstone pavements. There were a good many Chinese, but I noticed also some Roman inscriptions. In front of the Metropolitan is a slab in the side-walk bearing a skull and bones, and the date is 1609.

Was unsuccessful in finding Don Palanca,[1] but discovered afterwards that he had gone back to China. Met Paul Chiong, the Chinese Methodist preacher, who received me cordially, and offered to help me in any way within his power. He said there was a good opening in Manila for an honest lawyer.

In the Attorney General's Office I met Mr. Campbell, Mr. Bassett, Mr. McLaughlin, the head clerk, and Overton, Judge Wilfley's stenographer. Overton helped me find rooms. We went to the Imperial Hotel and there ran across Thomas, whom I had known as a hail-fellow-well-met at Michigan. I took up quarters there with two other young fellows — Cameron, an engineer, and Chandler, an employee in the Q.M.D.[2] At our table we had another engineer by the name of Dieck. Dieck had come out early in the history of Manila and had been assigned as supervisor to a province. He had a good deal to say of the hardships of the early pioneering days. He was a graduate of Pennsylvania. Cameron was from Leland Stanford and had wandered considerably. He had worked in Hawaii, prospected in California, engineered and prospected in the Philippines.

Shortly after arriving, I took Miss Gilmore out for a drive on the Luneta. It was beautifully lit up by electric lights, and all the bon ton and veal ton of the city were out in victorias or carromatas to hear the music. We drove around several times and then stopped to listen to the band. The concert closed with playing the *Star-Spangled Banner*, and I was glad to see the soldiers stand at attention and remove their hats while it was being played. This is certainly a move in the right direction. It is not mere form. Its influence goes much further than that. It brings consciously to the mind of the soldier the thought of his country's flag and honor. The same ceremony when *God Save the King* is played by an English band has had a most wholesome influence on the British Army.

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[1] Carlos Palanca, whose Chinese name was Tan Quien-sien. He migrated to the Philippines about 1856. When he became a Catholic, he assumed the name of his sponsor, Colonel Carlos Palanca y Gutierrez, a Spanish officer, becoming Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sien. Carlos Palanca street in Quiapo, Manila, formerly Echague, is named after him.

[2] I. e. Quarter Master Department

Dieck and Cameron pronounced the Manila Wall[3] a fine specimen of engineering. It is built of solid stone, much of it the hard granite which the Chinese used. Cameron said some of the slabs were now worth two pesos a piece as building stone. Dieck tried to describe to me what is known as a warp in architecture.

I was not able to follow his explanation closely and told him I could not find any on the wall. One morning I noticed in the paper that the War Department had authorized the removal of the wall. This would certainly be a wise move. It would place the government in possession of large tracts of land for building or boulevard purposes. At the present the most is certainly a breeder of mosquitoes.

Cameron, Chandler and myself made it a rule for a while to take a run to the Luneta every morning at six and take a swim in the bay. We found on the shore numbers of Filipinos of both sexes performing their ablutions. The women were very modest about their bathing, and it was a source of admiration to us to see how they could change into their bathing costumes and back to their street dress without exposing any part of their persons. The water usually was muddy and full of sediment. It was likewise infested with jellyfish that caused painful stings whenever one came in contact with them. There were two species — the white and black, the latter most ungainly-looking animals. The bay was also used by the *cocheros* for swimming their horses. We usually met them riding their ponies to the shore, and coming back the horses frequently showed the invigorating effects of the bath by much prancing and funny antics.

Manila — May 24 — Took an excursion out to the Pumping Station with Dieck and Chandler. The first stage of the journey, four miles to Santa Ana, we went in carromatas. My driver lashed his poor nag most viciously — so much so that I finally took the whip away from him. We drove way out thru the suburbs of the city to the old church. This is an interesting place. The old grey walls show signs of rough handling and some of the outbuildings have been destroyed. At the church I lost Chandler and Dieck, as with characteristic carelessness the cochero turned to the left at the church instead of taking the road to the right by which the others had gone. After driving fifteen minutes and inquiring in vain for the *Americanos hombres* we turned back and found Chandler and Dieck waiting at the church. We went to the river bank and got into a banca, a long, narrow boat, hewn into a graceful shape out of a single log. It was difficult getting in, as the two bamboo outriggers are not sufficient to steady the craft. The *bangkero* usually wades into the water and holds the boat while his passengers crawl in. There is a bamboo and rush awning over the boat. When we had all got in and balanced ourselves the *bangkero* emerged from the water dripping and took his place at one end where he paddled the craft.

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[3] See page 218.

Clumps of graceful bamboo lined the banks whose flat and uniform contour gave sufficient evidence of alluvial formation. Women were busy all along the shore, washing either themselves, their children, or the family clothing. They waded up to the waist in the water, and having dresses on, there was nothing immodest in their appearance. At several places we found great black carabaos, resembling with their black hides hippopotamus, participating in the general ablutions. Now and then, on the river bank in front of a nipa hut, a woman was fishing with a little switch, thread and probably a bent pin for a hook. Close by stood thickets of bananas. Everything was conducive to a happy-go-lucky existence. There was nothing to compel labor, and the hot weather certainly did not invite industry — so we thought as we lay stretched in the bottom of our banca.

The Spaniards were by no means the good-for-nothing people they have been represented. Substantial works of engineering can still be seen along the shore, such as stone arch bridges and solid roads. Almost the entire energy of the country, however, seems to have been expended in churches and convents. There is a big ruined monastery at Guadalupe. We went up and explored it. In many places the walls are seven feet thick and served the purpose of vaults for the deposit of dead friars. In this building the tombs had all been rifled, and the bones lay scattered about in a litter of debris. The vaults lay in one corner of the wall, in a small arched chamber. There were probably twenty tombs in all. One friar had been laid to rest in the ground. The cover of his coffin had been torn off and part of his skull, ribs and a patch of his cassock lay among the rubbish.

Dieck pronounced the building a model of good building. There were several carved arches, flat arches, and the corners were buttressed by massive piles of stone work. Everything was in ruin. The place had been occupied by Filipino troops and had been shelled by the Americans.

We went back to the banca and paddled up the stream again. At Pasig we stopped, the *bangkero* pulling the boat up on the shore and we paid him a peso and walked down into the village. The houses, I noticed, were all numbered, an example of American influence among the Filipinos of the municipal council. There was a constabulary post on the public square opposite the church. A Filipino in khaki and with a musket over his shoulder was standing sentry. We went into the church. It was conspicuous for its painted shoddy. There were no seats — on either side ran floors of the hard native wood which seemed to have been polished by the genuflections of multitudes of worshippers. At intervals stood the cabinets of the confessional. The organ was devoid of pipes — these had been rifled for bullets during the Insurrection, and the instrument stood like a voiceless skeleton. We climbed into the belfry. The walls were exceedingly thick — six or seven feet. From the top we had a view of the surrounding country. It stretched about us in a flat level, except where the mountains rose abruptly from the plain and shut off

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[3] For an account of the building of the Walls and fortifications of "Old Manila" or "Intramuros", see Salt, A. E. W. and Heistand, H. O. S., "Manila's Walls and their Fortification", in this *Bulletin*, Dec. 1964, v. 8, No. 4, p. 40-87; see also Ireland, Irma Thompson, "The Spanish Fortifications of Manila", in *Philippine Magazine*, Nov.-Dec., 1958, v. 35, and Jan., 1939, v. 36.

the view. The Laguna de Bay was distinctly visible, a white sheet of water. The bells in the tower were pierced and torn by shot. They were all made in Spain, some of the last century, though several dated from 1864. There was also one of the revolving clappers which are used in Lent.

We descended and went to another building which had been used as a court of justice in the Spanish days, though now it was a nesting place for myriads of bats. On one side was a stinking vault, entered by a small, heavy wooden door provided with a small hole for communicating with the interior. It had been used as a prison.

We hired another banca and paddled along until the river became so shallow that we could go no farther and were obliged to get out and "hike." We noticed a number of holes in the banks. Dieck explained these as fish traps. The fish go in at flood tide, the hole is closed, and the Filipino has his breakfast without worry or exertion. Surely this customer can say that the "Lord spreadeth a table for me in the presence of mine enemies."

We walked along at a good rate for three miles, now thru dry paddy fields, now under the shade of wide spreading mango trees, and then on the open road. I carried a big banana leaf as a shade, but the boys had no other protection than their small hats. They said sunstroke had never been known in the Philippines. When we got to the open road we could see the mountains far on our right. It began to blow heavily during the latter part of our trip and the bamboo clumps swayed and rustled violently. We got to the works just in time to escape a heavy shower.

Mr. Lindsey, the waterworks engineer, took us over the plant. The Manila waterworks system had been built out of funds left by a certain Carriedo[4] for that purpose in 1750. The interest had been allowed to accumulate until in 1880 when the system was built. The same engines are still in operation, though there are many improvements which they lack. Mr. Lindsey had appropriated an old stone fort for the storage of coal, and was dismantling another for paving stone. There was quite a post of troops stationed at the place.

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[4] Francisco Carriedo y Peredo, Manila greatest benefactor, who by his gift, made possible the construction of the water works of the city. Carriedo fountain, located in Plaza Librada Avelino, was erected to his memory.

At about four, Chandler and I started back, Lindsey giving us his carriage. We drove behind a good old go-to-meeting American plug, and as we got to the top of the rise behind the works we could look over a brown undulating plain that looked for all the world like an Indiana landscape in October. I quite surprised myself with the delusion of being at home and returning from some Sunday service until we met a crowd of Filipinos returning from their Sunday observances at the cockpit, some of them bearing mangled cocks and others victorious birds. Still, they trudged along quietly with the expression on their faces of "the benediction which follows prayer."

Manila — May 28. — Called with Paul Chiong on a number of his countrymen. One was in the tobacco business manufacturing cigarettes. Filipino men were at work at the machines and women were packing the finished product into small packages. This they did very deftly, getting the correct number of cigarettes, thirty — into every package without counting. The proprietor of the business had a suit on against another Chinaman, and it was strongly intimated to me that if I could influence the decision I would be remembered in a generous present.

Manila — May 29. — Happened to pass the Binondo cathedral in the morning and came upon a funeral cortege. It was for a small child. I entered the dimly lit church and saw a small blue casket on the floor. About a dozen Filipino women were standing about holding candles, and a priest was muttering something inaudibly. The prayer finished, the priest doffed his surplice in an indifferent manner and slouched away to the cabinet of the confessional. A Filipino picked up the casket in his arms and carried in to the portal, edging his way through the crowd with his burden. The women followed, and as they passed through the door a thrifty *Chino* gathered up their tapers— they had evidently been rented simply for the occasion. The casket was placed in a shoddy painted hearse, and the cortege drove off, a Filipino band playing a funeral march.

Manila — May 30. — Left at 5:30 a.m. and drove to the railway station with Miss Floy Gilmore. Miss Blanche Lurton had invited us to Baliwag for a *baile.* Although so early in the day, the thrifty Chinos were already in their shops waiting for the day's business. As we approached the station Filipino runners met the carromata with the evident intention of carrying our baggage. We had a pleasant ride of an hour and a half through the alluvial plain with the blue mountains far in the distance. The terraces of rice were brown and dry, but graceful clumps of bamboos, like great ostrich plumes studded the landscape. At Malolos, we left the train. The station yard was crowded with carromatas, and we made our way among them to find one which would take us on our way.

From Malolos, we had a drive of twelve miles over a beautiful road to Baliwag. All kinds of tropical vegetation lined the way, but my ignorance of botany only permitted me to distinguish the bamboo, the mango and the banana. In one or two places we came upon that glory of the Philippines, the *arbor del fuego,*[5] a tall, gracefull tree with spreading branches covered with vivid red blossoms. At one place we could discern the towering flames at the end of the green vista of roadway. A large number of the blossoms had fallen and strewn the ground, so that the earth looked like a reflection of the flaming blossoms. Frequent nipa huts stood by the roadside, and as we approached Baliwag we could see that the people were engaged in weaving hats. But they all seemed to carry an indifferent *dolce far niente* air. Bamboo seemed to be used for everything — for framework for the houses, for fences, for runners, for sleds and for the manufacture of the hats. Floors were also made out of this material.

Halfway between Malolos and Baliwag the road is intersected by a stream. This was crossed by a government trolley and a native ferry. The latter consisted merely of a couple of cascos with a bamboo platform placed over them. The carromata was driven upon this, and with the water reaching within a couple of inches of the gunwales of the bancas we were poled sey had appropriated an old stone fort for the storage of coal, and was dismantling another for paving stone. There was quite a post of troops stationed at the place.

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[5] Also locally known as Caballero; the fire tree, scientifically named Delonix Regie (Boj.)

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[5] Also locally known as Caballero; the fire tree, scientifically named Delonix Regie (Boj.)

The gray, clumsy tower of a church told us at a distance of our approach to Baliwag. We drove through a street lined with nipa huts to the public square opening upon the church. The inhabitants were busy with their marketing. The sales people were squatted in the shade of bamboo eaves, propped up by poles and were doing a business in fish, rice, vegetables, mangoes and pottery. We inquired our way and drove to the Casa de Camacho, said to be the finest house in the town. The young ladies were away, but a Filipino *señorita* received us and talked a hesitating English. She had just come from her toilet and her raven hair was streaming down her back.

We were seated in a large, airy hall whose walls and ceiling were decorated with crude paintings. I learned afterwards that the people were professional gamblers and depended upon that noble pursuit for their living. The father wore a shrewd, harrassed countenance. His fingers were decorated with enormous diamonds as big as hickory nuts.

Leaving Miss Gilmore with Miss Lurton, I went to the comandancia for lunch. The officers of the post were Major Hereford, now a contract surgeon, Lieutenant Ballin, Lieutenant Treadwell, and Lieutenant Bevener. The post contained some 220 constabulary. They had celebrated Decoration Day that morning by marching to the grave of a Macabebe scout and decorating it with flowers.

The great event was the *baile*, celebrated in the comandancia in the evening. The place had been decorated with palms and lanterns. At 7:30 I got the ladies from the Casa de Camacho and took them over. Two daughters of the house and the brothers had been invited to the occasion. When we arrived at the hall, the Filipino guests had already arrived. A native band of some twenty instruments, including cello, cornets, clarionets, violins and French horns started up the music and Major Hereford led the way to the dining hall. The Filipinos were successful in securing most of the places at the first table and so I was obliged to seat my partner and retire to the dancing hall for the next table. The table was filled three times to accommodate the guests. Meanwhile, dancing had begun in the hall and I watched attentively the figure of the native dance, the *rigodon*. This is quite complicated, and consists in a series of advances, bows, turns and circling. The Filipino maidens were dressed becomingly in their native styles which call into requisition the stiff, transparent textiles for which the islands are famous. They all wore the stiff *pañuelo* or handkerchief, about the neck and the bell-shape sleeves. Several native chaperones lent their presence to the festivities. The Mestiza girl especially attracted my attention. She was dressed in the native costume, but both her features and her carriage showed a decided Castillian strain. She was delicate and rather distant, but her dainty step must have come from the land of Carmen. I learned that her grandfathers, on both sides, were Spanish *padres*. The young men appeared in awkward cut suits of tweeds and whites. I observed here, too, the characteristic which had impressed me in Manila, namely, the entire absence of spontaneous fun and merry making. There was scarcely a smile to be found on any of the countenances, much less did one hear any laughter. The men and maidens sat apart most of the time.

The Filipino love for diamonds and jewelry appeared in all its luxuriance. The sparkling gems showed to advantage too, in the peculiar character of the stuffs they wore.

All the officers of the post were present and all the schoolteachers of the district. I took occasion to interview all of them in regard to the government and the prospects of the Filipino.

The dance broke up at about 2 a.m. and we went home. Lt. Ballin and the other officers sat up awhile in the headquarters telling yarns until about 3:30.

Baliwag — May 31. — We had a fine drive to the station behind a train of spirited army horses. The railroad station was crowded with Filipino of various stations in life, but the majority were market women. A number of grave-faced men were mingled in the crowd holding in their hands the inevitable game cocks. They were bound, with pious mein, for some cockpit.

Manila — June 7. — Started early in the morning on a trip to Mariveles. Hayward had obtained the use of the government launch. We steamed down the river among the crowded cascos, under the bridges and by the hoary walls of the city. The harbor was well occupied with shipping. A steam of four hours brought us beyond Corregidor, the government quarries and to the quarantine station of Mariveles. This latter is beautifully situated in a cove surrounded by bold, wooded heights, with a great mountain towering inland. Good anchorage is afforded ships of large tonnage. At this station all transports going home pass a five-day quarantine with disinfection of passengers and baggage. The government has built a good pier and hospitals. Beyond these buildings extends the native town of nipa huts. The beach was fringed with the peculiar hollowed log boats which the Filipinos construct. We wandered through the town, stopping at a billiard hall where Filipinos were engaged in a quiet game. Their game cocks they had left temporarily anchored by the door, and the animals were eyeing each other viciously. We passed on to the church. This bore the date A.D. 1729 beside the entrance. The decorations of the interior were cheap and shoddy, such as I had noticed in all Spanish churches from the time I visited Tenerife. The architecture of the exterior was much like the pictures I had noticed of the mission churches of California. The abutments were the same, and the tiled roof was supported on rafters in the same manner. At one corner stood a tower, square, but with corners lopped off.

Whenever two or three Americans gather together the shortcomings of the present government are sure to become a subject of conversation. The chief accusation which I have heard on all hands is the leniency of the authorities in their dealings with the natives. Natives who have been leaders of insurrection and outlawry are rewarded with prominent positions under the government. Such is the case of Buencamino,[6] of the Civil Service Board, also member of Exposition Board. Some of the members of the Commission even are attacked. So far as I have been able to observe I cannot see how the administration can be improved. Most of the men in office are abler than those occupying similar positions at home. The Filipinos are certainly receiving the benefit of the best education in self-government that any nation could bestow. The policy of gradually extending the sphere of native activity is certainly a wise one, and I hope in time it may release us from the task of external government which we have undertaken.

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[6] Felipe Buencamino served as Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the Paterno Cabinet, the last position he held in the Central Government of the Philippine Republic under General Emilio Aguinaldo. For his conciliatry attitude toward the new American administration he was rewarded membership in Civil Service Board and the Exposition Board.

Manila — June 11. — This was the fiesta of Corpus Christi and my Spanish teacher declined to give me a lesson. Dr. Miller and I watched the great procession from the plaza of the Manila Cathedral. There must have been thousands in the long line of devout Catholics. They walked in single file, one file on each side of the street, while the clergy, the monks and school children from the convents, as well as the bearers of the emblems marched in the middle. Filipinos, Mestizos and Spaniards walked in the procession, everyone carrying a lighted taper. The Archbishop walked under an embroidered canopy near the rear of the procession. He has a striking countenance, one that would mark him immediately as the boss of a ward or the organizer of a convention. He bore in his chalice the blessed Eucharist but his keen watchful glance told that his mind was not wholly absorbed in religious contemplations.

The Cathedral of Manila is magnificent for its size, but not for style of architecture or execution. It is constructed out of the soft pliable sandstone which is so common here. It cannot be said to possess any distinctive style, but strikes one as a conglomerate of styles made necessary by seismic conditions. Heavy walls rise from the plaza, containing here and there a niche accommodating a poorly executed statue. In the center rises a huge dome, sheathed in copper or brass. The interior, like all Spanish cathedrals, is kept poorly lighted, a wise precaution as otherwise the tawdriness of the decorations would become too apparent. Great pillars, painted in imitation of marble, rise to the roof. Similar imitations make up the wainscoting on the sides.

A far more beautiful interior is that of the Jesuit Cathedral on Arzobispo Street. It can also lay claim to the additional merit that things there are actually what they seem. The greater part of the decorations is executed in the fine hard woods in which the islands abound. The carving must have necessitated an enormous amount of work. I noticed here an odd habit of the pious Filipino lads when at prayer. They knelt keeping their bodies quite straight and their funny little bell toppers they placed neatly upon the upper surface of their calves. They are then kept free from contact with dust and are handy when the worshipper desires to withdraw.

Manila — June 21. — I am still being persuaded that the United States are doing a grand thing for these Filipinos. The introduction of reforms here is not hampered by politicians. The Torrens system of land tenure is being introduced. Night schools have been established all over the city of Manila. The Department of Forestry is doing work which is sorely needed in the United States. Bilibid is certainly a model for prison reformers. I visited the carcel with Mr. Wood, a lawyer from Cebu. The front basement, which seemed to be a kind of reception hall, was crowded with Filipino women. A few man in stripes helped the guard to keep order. Sunday is the general visiting day, and a heap of presents is always left by the visitors for their friends. These consist almost exclusively of cigars and cigarettes. In spite of their general stolidity, I did notice that some of the women came from the cells affected as the women of every other land would be. The younger were crying — the older made strange noise in their efforts to swallow their tears.

July 1, 1903. — On this date we, that is, Chandler, Dr. Miller, Cameron, Dieck and myself took up lodgings in a place at 134 Calle San Marcelino. We rented of the proprietors our rooms on the second floor. The house is not of a very inviting appearance from the outside, but the rooms were tastefully furnished and to our famished eyes it appeared a heaven of homelikeness. A verandah extended around two sides of our quarters, and on this we placed our cots. The house faced a convent on the opposite side of the street which soon began to annoy us with untimely ringing of bells. The estero, or canal running into the Pasig, formed one side of the yard, and in the muddy waters we could see almost any day horses, carabaos, nun, women and children and laundry being washed.

The Paco cemetery being on Nozaleda,[7] into which San Marcelino runs, we witnessed quite a few funerals. These were always preceded by a band of gaudily uniformed Filipinos playing the most gruesome music, such as would delight the heart of Grieg. Then followed the hearse, drawn by several teams of horses led by postillions who walked in powdered wigs and velvet uniforms and then a straggling line of carromatas. Occasionally a poor man would be borne to his grave on the shoulders of men, and now and then a child's coffin, pale pink or blue, would be carried on the shoulder of a man.

Every morning I cut across lots to the Bagumbayan drive, thence to the Puerta Real and down Palacio to the Office in the Ayuntamiento. The early part of July, the Attorney General returned from Baguio, and from that time I was engaged in editing the opinions of the office.

The most important element of our life at San Marcelino was Charlie, the *Chino* cook. He was a very smart looking man, and spoke English well. We undertook to pay him $27 a piece for board and he was to furnish everything and run things in his own way. This arrangement seemed to *besirle a pelo*, for the he has given satisfaction. He confided to us once that he did not like to work for women — although he could get along with them all right. I afterwards learned that he had been cook for Audiles Lawshe, and had been a trial to Mrs. Lawshe.

Among other people in Manila, I made the acquaintance of a young man, Merrill[8] by name. He was engaged in the government laboratories and had travelled all over the Philippines, besides Java and I believe the Malay peninsula. He informed me that the handbook issued by the Forestry Department on Philippine woods was absolutely reliable. He thought little of the lumbering possibilities of the islands. Some wood there was, but not in such quantities or locations as to pay for exploitation. He was fully convinced that there was nothing in the islands to tempt American settlement or capital.

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[7] The streets Nozaleda and Palacio were named General Luna in 1913.

[8] Elmer Drew Merrill served as botanist in the Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry, Manila, 1902/03; at the Bureau of Government Laboratories, 1903/05; and at the Bureau of Science, 1906/23, which he also served as director, 1919/23.

He had travelled extensively in Java and admired greatly the system of the Dutch there. The whole island had the appearance of a garden. The Dutch were absolute masters, and occupied a positioned of unquestioned superiority. The natives were not allowed to dress in the same clothes as their masters, and were obliged to kneel in addressing them. Nevertheless, the entire population lived in content and plenty.

I also became acquainted with "Deacon" Arthur Prautch,[9] at one time a Methodist missionary in India. He arrived in Manila in December, 1898, and at once started into missionary work on his own hook. He soon fell in with Aglipay, a Filipino priest, Pascual Poblete and Isabelo de los Reyes. He gained the confidence of all three and started the idea of an independent Filipino Catholic Church. He seemed to be the brains behind the entire movement. Aglipay was a Ilocano, born up in the north in 1860. In 1890, he took priest's orders. He gained considerable influence, both among the Filipino clergy and among the laity. When the insurrection started and the Spanish priests were abliged to leave their churches, he was consecrated a bishop and sent out into the provinces among the Filipino clergy in order to maintain the church organization. When the Americans arrived, the Spaniards persuaded him to go to the Filipino camp and detach them from the American cause. This he was unable to do — in fact, his life was threatened should he continue in his attempt. After the transfer of sovereignty and the outbreak of the Filipino insurrection Aglipay joined the revolutionary forces and proved to be one of the most elusive of the Filipino leaders.

Aglipay seem to voice the aspiration of the people — an independent church with Filipino clergy and Filipino bishops. Four Filipino bishops had been promised by Rome, but this promise was never fulfilled. The bishopric have since been filled by Americans.

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[9] Arthur W. Prautch was a former Methodist missionary in India. He came to Manila both on business and to help found the work of the Methodist Espicopal Church early in 1898.

On October 26, 1902, Sunday, Aglipay took the final step. Before an audience of some 2,000 people, in an open place in Tondo, he celebrated high mass and announced the inauguration of the Independent Filipino Catholic Church. At the elevation of the host the band played the *Star-Spangled Banner*, and at the conclusion of the address three cheers were proposed for the new church. On "Deacon" Prautch's urgent solicitation Aglipay assumed the title of "Archbishop of the Independent Filipino Catholic Church." In Cavite, he placed the white mitre on his head with his own hands.

In spite of threatened excommunications from the Archbishop of Manila the new church gained adherents rapidly. The entire province of Ilocos Norte went over in a body, electing a man by the name of Brillantes as bishop. About the middle of November 1902, a convention was held in Manila at which some kind of organization was perfected. A supreme council of the church, with Pascual Poblete as chairman, was instituted.

The next question that came up was the ownership of the church property in the islands. The Filipino proselytes to the new church had simply contained in the use of the same churches. Churches and congregations seemed to have gone over together. About this time Msgr. Guiddo,[10] the papal delegate arrived to settle the question with Governor Taft. The Filipinos contended that they had built the churches with their own labor. In many cases they had been constructed out of public funds. The churches were property of the state, under the system which united in Spain the temporal and spiritual power. The Attorney General has been called upon to render an opinion on the subject, and he practically endorsed the arguments of the people. The State in Spain possessed the patronage over hospitals and property devoted to public uses. The title rested in the public. The church was simply an administrator. With the withdrawal of Spanish sovereignty, the United States succeeded to these rights.

However, the question was allowed to drag on, probably for political reasons. It is now a year since Guiddo arrived, and no conclusion seems to have been reached. The test case of the San Jose College has been left suspended.

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[10] I. e. Jean Baptiste Guide, who arrived in November, 1902, bringing with him Rome's solution to the problem of ownership of the Church property in the Philippines

On Thanksgiving Day, 1902, Aglipay delivered a master stroke. A union meeting had been called to which the representative clergymen of all denominations had been invited. Among the invited were "Archbishop Aglipay" and Guiddo. The latter did not appear. When his turn to speak arrived, Aglipay was introduced by Mr. Rodgers[11] and at once made the tart remark that as "Guiddo had the charge of the souls of all here present it is strange that he should be absent." This turned the undenominational service into a monster Aglipay demonstration.

The attempt of the United States to force representative institutions upon this people is a striking evidence of the mediocrity which sways the councils of our statesmen. School teachers, provincial officers (Cameron, Dieck) and soldiers have one and all assured me that the Filipinos were absolutely incapable of understanding the meaning of self-government. Aside from the ignorance of the people. their absolute lack of preparation for anything of the kind, we must remember that representative institutions in our own country grew up with the Protestant religion. The Filipinos not only are non-Protestants, but they have not yet arrived at the stage of freedom of thought, moderated by self-control necessary for this form of belief. More will need to be done by missionaries than by politicians if American institutions are ever to thrive in these tropical islands.

About the end of August the Education Bill providing for the sending of Filipino students to the United States was passed. This has been severely criticized by newspapers and by men acquainted with affairs. The education of Filipino will only lead to the infusing of a discontented, disturbing class in the population. What is needed is rather the sending of a number of boys to manual training schools where they can learn the nobility of labor. There is a manual training school in Manila, but its classes are almost completely deserted. The ambition of most Filipinos seems to run in the way of becoming clerks and *escribientes.*

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[11] Rev. James B. Rodgers, then chief of the first Presbyterian Mission in the Philippines.

Sunday — Sept. 13 — Went with Miss Gilmore to Pandacan, on the outskirts of Manila to see Archbishop Aglipay install or consecrate a Filipino bishop. We drove through the paddy fields, passing clumps of bamboos, with the sky-line of Manila, the Tabacalera Co. factory prominent, standing out on our left. In the distance ahead of us rose the blue masses of the mountains of Antipolo. We finally entered a street of nipa houses and came to a stop where a number of Filipinos crowded the way. It was the Independent Church. It was a nipa-roofed house of bamboo. At the entrance floated the American flag beside a white one, which I took for the arch-episcopal colors. We entered the shack and were greeted by "Deacon" Prautch. The place was crowded. An orchestra and choir stationed outside the building for want of room were discoursing the music of the mass. Along what might be called the center aisle sat a number of young men in black growns and white surplices. These were newly ordained priests. In front of the altar were seated a number of mitred Filipinos, among them the Bishop of Cavite. Aglipay soon appeared to take his part in the ceremony. Everyone was quiet and attentive, but I could not but feel that a good deal was concealed beneath the stolid countenances of the audience which the ordinary American mind is powerless to grasp. The chant was the regular Latin chant of the Roman Church.

To all appearances, the strength of Aglipay lies in the fervent desire for independence which seems to burn in all Filipinos. So far he has little to offer his followers — the church organization is loose, there is no system of finance, he has set forth no distinctive doctrinal theses — but the soul of the whole movement, that which offers a powerful magnetic field is the one idea of independence — a Filipino church under Filipino administration.

The movement of Aglipay is simply another of the many expressions of this turbulent impulse. It showed itself first in the insurrecction against Spain, the organization of the Katipunan, the short-lived alliance with the Americans, the outbreak, the insurrection, the ladronism which became rampant and finally in the plays of such authors as Tolentino's *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*.[12] The next manifestation came up in the organization of the widespread Union Obrero of Dominador Gomez. This for a time seemed to offer a nucleus for Filipino aspirations. With the prosecution of Gomez, Aglipay now has the stage to himself. For years to come I believe such movements will sweep the country, as each seems to offer to the Filipinos a new starting point for their ambitions. They are a people peculiarly susceptible to the influence of daring leaders, and will lend a ready ear and a willing following to anyone who seems to express their vaguely realized aspirations.

I had been examining the recent Moro Act.[13] Compared with the other legislation of the Commission and the general policy of the government as laid down in McKinley's message of April 7, 1900,[14] this Act is a remarkable piece of work. It is remarkable for going to the heart of the difficulties without imposing any generalizations from Anglo-Saxon experience upon Asiatic peoples. Instead of attempting to lift them by the bootstraps into the stage of civilization which it has taken us centuries to reach, it at least makes an effort to meet the people in their present condition. The law requires the provincial secretary to acquaint himself with the language of the Moros and other non-Christian tribes. The district governors and secretaries are also required to learn the principal local dialect of their respective districts. While English is as soon as practicable to become the basis of public instruction, the law provides that this "shall not prevent the instruction by native teachers in Arabic, Moro or other languages of the locality of the school." The legislative council is also directed to recognize as near as practicable existing tribal or local organizations and the already constituted authorities. The laws of the Moros are to be adjusted according to the customary law of the tribes to which the parties belong. Where there is conflict of laws owing to the parties coming from different tribes, or nationalities, as Moro and American or Filipino, the substantive civil law and criminal code of the Philippine Islands governs.

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[12] A drama in three acts, originally written in Tagalog. While the play was being staged at the Teatro Libertad in 1903, Aurelio Tolentino, its author and director, was arrested and tried for sedition. Convicted, he was sentenced to 2 years in prison and fined $2,000.

[13] Act 787 of the Philippine Commission, approved June 1, 1903. For an account of the situation which led to the creation of the More Province, see *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, Part I (Was., 1905), p. 5-14.

[14] For full text of message, the so-called "Instructions" of the U.S. President to the Second Philippine Commission (or Taft Commission), see Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines, Past and Present*, Vol. II (New York, 1904), p. 980-988.

To adjudicate upon this complex system of conflicting laws justice is to be administered by courts presided over by secretaries of districts assisted by other members chosen according to the race of the litigants.

The Act seems to imitate the organization in India by making the district the administrative unit. In this unit the district secretary seems to occupy a position similar to that of deputy commissioner or collector magistrate. He is custodian of the public records; he succeeds the governor upon a vacancy in that office or in the absence of the incumbent. He is required, besides learning the principal dialect of the district, to learn as much as possible of the language of other non-Christian tribes, and also of their customs. He has the supervision of public works. He is president of the district court.

This Act seems to be another evidence of the political cowardice which seems to have inspired the policy of the government in these islands. On the eve of the campaign of 1900, and under the unslaught of Bryan[15] and the disaffected Republicans, the message of April 7 seems to have been precipitatedly drafted, giving rise subsequently to the Municipal Code.[16] The experience of the last few years, together with the removal of immediate political patronage have produced an organic law of an entirely different type.

Sept. 15.—Mr. Remington, a stenographer from the Recorder's Division, called here this evening and we had a long talk in regard to Philippine conditions. The Moro Act, he informed me, was the work of Governor Taft and General Davis. It had been drafted in Baguio. During part of the time a Mr. Rodgers, the British resident in Perak, had been in Baguio, I believe as a guest of the Governor, and doubtless from him a good many ideas were drawn.

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[15] William Jennings Bryan opposed American expansionist policy at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. He was the Democratic candidate for President in 1896 and again in 1900, but lost. Nominated for the third time in 1908, he again lost to Taft.

[16] Act 82 of the Philippine Commission, approved January 31, 1901, which served as a charter or general organic act for all local governments in the Philippines except, those regions peopled by non-Christians and Mohammedans.

From what Remington said I imagine the administration does not have a very high appreciation of the Attorney General's abilities. As often as not his opinions are disregarded.

Manila — Sept. 26. — I noticed by the morning papers that Beurit and McCabe had been appointed as judges of the new judicial districts. This is tantamount to another slap at the Attorney General, as he had hoped to get Harvey appointed to at least one of the districts.

The accompanying columns from today's papers are interesting as they show the true light in which ladronism is regarded. Although the insurrection is officially ended, still we have the spectacle of a *ladron* chief offering to treat with American officers sent to catch him. Moreover, there is a system of concentration in the province. Day before yesterday Prosecuting Attorney Smith fell into the error in the new complaint which he has lodged against Dominador Gomez Jesus of accusing him of aiding the insurrection — this is spite of the fact that the insurrection is officially over. A few days ago we had a case in the office of a Constabulary N.C.O.[17] joining the *ladrones* and attacking the quarters of his own men. This occurred, I think, in Nueva Ecija. The man's name was Nery. The Solicitor General was called upon to give an opinion, and by a skillful manipulation of technicalities he succeeded in getting the charge of treason withdrawn — according to his argument, the mere fact of the man attacking the *cuartel* of the Constabulary did not sufficiently prove treasonable intent.

Manila — Sept. 29. — Was invited to Dr. Stuntz to dinner and stayed for a long talk over Philippine affairs in which the Doctor's intimate knowledge of Indian conditions proved intense-ly interesting and enlightening. Dr. Stuntz[18] criticism as he expressed it to Governor Taft in a private interview, was firstly, that this government had apparently paid no intention whatever to the experience accumulated by England and other colonizing countries through hundreds of years. Secondly, that the government was not sufficiently centralized — powers were too diffused. Governor Taft complained that he was tied and hampered from Washington. Dr. Stuntz incidentally gave me reason to believe that the Governor would be glad to get rid of the Attorney General, could he see his way clear to do so.

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[17] I e. Non-commissioned officer

Dr. Stuntz complained in regard to a report of an investigation made by Richard Campbell, of our office, into the disturbances at Hagonoy. It seems the Methodists had just put up a church in the pueblo opposite the house of the municipal treasurer. The latter official threatened that the building would never be used. On the day set for the dedication he gathered a large number of his conferees into this house, and these with drums, and other noise producing instruments created such a disturbance that no services could be held. This was kept up for some time until a complaint was made to the Attorney General and Campbell was sent up to investigate matters. In his report he practically confirmed the testimony of the complainants, but added that the offenders denied ever having created any disturbance, and reliance was placed upon the word of the latter. Before appealing to the Attorney General, I must state that appeal had been made to the Chief of Police and the Justice of the Peace, all without result. This is characteristic of the even-handed justice we may expect from Filipino officials. This same tendency is apparent in the verdict handed down in the Gomez trial today. Judge Sweeney found the defendant guilty, but the two Filipino assessors were of the contrary opinion. Dr. Stuntz could not see what purpose the calling of assessors in such cases could serve. Their opinion did not have any weight. On the other hand, the fact that a man is compelled to serve a sentence of a judge in spite of the dissenting opinion of two Filipino assessors might well serve as a ground for raising a suspicion of race prejudice.

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[18] Homer C. Stuntz, then (1904) Methodist Superintendent in the Philippines. The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first to send a regularly accredited representative of its missionary society to found its work in the Philippines. Arriving early in 1899, the representative, Bishop M. Thoburn preached his first sermon on March 2 in a theater on Echague street.

Dr. Stuntz also went into the details of Aglipay's career. He had been a priest ordained by the church. On the outbreak of the insurrection, when the Spanish clergy were obliged to take refuge in Manila, Aglipay discharged the duties of the Bishop of Vigan on the request of the ecclesiastical authorities in Manila. This was only seven years after he had been consecreated a priest. When Dewey had won his victory and it was heard that an American army was on its way to the islands, the Spaniards thought to make use of the Filipino clergyman as an intermediary. He was empowered to go to the insurgents and offer them everything they wanted — a Filipino government with Filipino officials — if they would only make common cause with them against the Americans. Aglipay was unsuccessful in his mission. He claims that the insurgents would not listen to his proposals. Thereupon his principals, the clergy, thinking to exculpate themselves for the fiasco, and at the same time to ingratiate themselves with the Americans, gave it out that Aglipay had betrayed their weakness to the insurgents. Some scapegoat was needed, and so application was made for an order of excommunication. This arrived in due time and was launched against the luckless clergyman. Aglipay felt himself deeply wronged, and with reason. While brooding over the injustice that had been done him, Aguinaldo saw fit to make use of him, and immediately appointed him chaplain general of the insurgent armies. Aglipay followed the fortunes of the insurrection until the tightening lines of the American troops sent the scattered remnants of the insurgent armies flying into the mountains of Northern Luzon. He then engaged largely in fighting, for lack of opportunity to exercise his spiritual functions.

Two years ago, before launching his Independent Church, Aglipay consulted the Protestant clergymen of Manila, desiring to secure their cooperation in his plans. Dr. Stuntz, Mr. McLaughin, Mr. Rodgers (the Presbyterian minister), and Mr. Goodrich met him in consultation several times. McLaughlin and Goodrich (of the Bible Society) were for throwing themselves heart and soul into the movement. Dr. Stuntz held back. Finally they agreed to offer Aglipay a program. It was as follows: 1. That he should give satisfactory evidence of spiritual experience himself. 2. That he stand for some definite spiritual teachings. 3. That he initiate certain reforms in the lives of the clergy, such as the abolishing of celibacy and the insistence upon moral purity, and finally there would then be room for the negative reform which Aglipay was exalting into his principal battlecry — the abolishing of the Pope as the head of the church. Dr. Stuntz said he failed to find evidences of any real spiritual experience on the part of Aglipay and consequently he considered the movement doomed. Had Aglipay fulfilled the requirements laid down the Protestant clergymen stood ready to assist in every way possible. Failing in these, they could do naught else than keep themselves aloof. In Dr. Stuntz's opinion the Aglipay schism would perform its destiny in weakening the Catholic Church; it contained within itself no possibilities of leadership and organization. In due time it would run its course, and then the people who had joined it would scatter and in the search for religious nourishment would be easily brought into the Protestant fold.

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I mentioned the fact that the officials in Mindanao are obliged to learn the native languages. Dr. Stuntz thought this a move in the right direction. There is nothing that comes so near the heart of a people as their native tongue. The Filipinos feel a strong affection for theirs. All our more important officials should learn the native languages — in no other way would we ever get to understand the people and really give them the government they need.

The Benguet road blunder could have been avoided if the government had been willing to learn from the experience of the British in the construction of roads in the Himalayas. In fact, Dr. Stuntz advised Governor Taft to make a request of the Viceroy for an engineer, or else to send some of the government engineers to India on a tour of inspection. Governor Taft replied that if they tried such a thing there would be a general strike among government engineers.

Manila — Sept. 30. — Informed the Attorney General today that I could not stay at work unless I was paid extra. I presented an estimate of $400 for the completion of the work on the opinions.

About five o'clock I walked down to the wharves of the Pasig. We had just had a heavy tropical rain. The dark clouds had not yet dispersed, although they gradually drifted apart showing rifts and the blue background. I passed down the wharves to the Binondo estero. Several men were had at work poling a clumsy casco out in the river. Work had finished. I wandered back and stood on the bridge. Crowds were passing back and forth. (*From back of page 332*: I think a Filipino crowd is the most quiet and orderly in the world. They never burst out with loud vociferation as do the Chinese. They show little emotion — they have little to say, and what they have is uttered in an undertone.) The bridge vibrated under the hoofs of the little horses and the wheels of the carromatas. Occasionally there would be a break in the wagon traffic and the clack of wooden slippers and the rubbing of bare feet filled the interval. Then the stream of vehicular traffic resumed its course, drowning the sound of the passing crowds. Just at dusk the yellow light of the sunset broke out from a rift in the clouds, but it soon vanished and little lights began to twinkle from the river craft. The headlights of steamers rose swinging up the masts and then paused to throw their scintillating reflections on the titillating, restless surface of the river. By this time the shops on the Escolta had been brilliantly illuminated. The Intramuros, however, was left in darkness except for the white globes of electric lights which dotted at intervals the line of the promenade. The slender spire of Magallanes monument[19] and the Gothic outlines of the Dominican church threw their silhouettes against the sky while at their feet stretched the low block line of medieval battlements.

Up Rosario the thrifty Chinese shopkeepers were sitting in the doorways of their little establishments resting from the day's business. In the rear one might be figuring up the accounts of the day on his abacus, snapping the little balls back and forth with trained dexterity. The back streets were dark. There were no shops, and the dwelling houses were poorly lighted. As I approached the Escolta I passed a number of garish saloons which seemed to be having a busy time.

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[19] Then located at the vicinity of the present National Press on the south bank of the Pasig river.

I have often watched the crowds returning from work on San Marcelino. About five o'clock the big tobacco factories in the neighborhood closed and crowds of women and girls would begin to pass down the street. *Carretelas*, dragged by one poor *caballo*, and heavily loaded with Filipinos and other produce, would struggle up the ascent of the bridge over the *estero* by the side of our house amidst the encouraging grunts from the *cochero* and the menacing whacks from his whip.

Oct. 3. — A Mr. Olsen, a teacher in Nueva Ecija, was at dinner this evening. He was a graduate of the University of Minnesota. He was not very hopeful in regard to the education of the Filipinos. They were not anxious to go to school. In his town there were probably 500 children of school age. The enrollment never exceed 80.

Manila — *Oct. 7.* — I had the good fortune to be invited on a launch party up the Pasig and over the lake to Los Baños. Dieck arranged for my going. We started from the shops at 2 p.m. on the launch *Washington*, belonging to the City. There were about twelve in the crowd, nearly all of whom were engineers. They were Morrill, Armstrong, Graham, Hyde, Williams, Benson, Dutton, Wieman, Patstone, Dieck and myself. We steamed up the river, passing the Malacañan Palace, which wore a deserted look from the river side, lumber yards, boat slips where men were busy building scones, tows of cascoes and little bancas. Vegetation of tropical luxuriance clothed the low lying banks. At one place we passed what at one time must have been a chapel. What with its stone vaulting and the vegetation which overhung it from the bank, it had the appearance of a cavern in the rock. Part of the space was undoubtedly hewn out of the rocks. There were numerous ruins of arches and stone bridges over the creeks emptying into the Pasig. These elicited the admiration of the engineers who pronounced them excellent pieces of workmanship.

Near the town of Pasig commences the canal built by Weyler while governor to connect the Pasig with the Laguna de Bay. At about dusk we emerged between low lying banks overgrown with rank reeds and saw in the distance the broad expanse of the Bay and dim outlines of the Cordilleras. The season had been a dry one. The water had receded leaving a large number of fish traps high and dry on *terra firma*. These fish traps were in evidence at different points all along the shore of the lake.

The night descended rapidly and before long we were unable to make out anything of the shore. The patron kept the launch driving, however, and finally lost his course and we found ourselves stranded on a rock. The engines were reversed full speed and tugged away shivering every timber in the boat, in the vain attempt to get her off. These attempts were renewed every little while. We all ran to the stern, hoping that this would lighten the bow so that she could slip off. Then we tried to give her a roll by running from side to side. It was all of no avail, and finally we settled down for the night with the launch jolting and bumping on the rocky bottom as the waves lifted her. We spread our blankets on the fore deck. I was assigned a place under the table — a joke on me. It was not long before I dozed off, in spite of the chattering and restlessness of the rest of the boys. I was just sinking into unconsciousness when I was awakened by the fellows stirring about and chattering. It was raining heavily and the drops were coming thru the awning. I was now in the best position for protection. However, despite my protest, the boys had the unkindness to remove my table.

We tried to settle down again, and I fell asleep. By three o'clock the engines were started again, and most of the boys got up, though I dozed on to seven. By six o'clock some bancas had come along and these pulled the launch off sideways, and we were soon steaming towards Los Baños, which we had left ten miles behind us.

The day began clear and we had a good view of the lake and the sloping shores and the mountains in the background. In the distance we could see a cluster of nipa shacks and a red-tiled roof. This was Los Baños. We had breakfast on board, and then went ashore.

The hot springs of Los Baños are located right on the shore. We noticed the steam rising from the ground. The red-tiled hotel is a substantial structure put up by the Spaniards. It is provided with bath chambers where a person can enjoy either steam or hot water baths from the natural springs.

It was Sunday morning. Mass was just being performed in the ungainly stone church of the pueblo. It was the same mass that I had heard chanted in Cape Town. A Filipino priest and two Filipino boys were officiating. A number of our party crossed themselves as we entered. On the tiled floor kneeled a number of Filipino women. To one side knelt a couple of American soldiers. Presently a well-dressed American lady entered and kneeled with the rest. The choir consisted of a Filipino who played a pedal organ, two women and a boy with a violin. They appeared to be chanting the whole mass from memory as no music was in evidence.

Armstrong, Benson, Dutton and myself decided to go up the mountain nearby and visit a fall which was said to be worth seeing. We took our way over a terribly muddy road and then struck off a trail which led through tall canes, underbrush and trees loaded with the numberless parasites which nature provides in the tropics. Now and then we came to a little clearing with a little patch of yams and a nipa hut elevated on posts in the middle. There seemed to be no sign of life until we came to the house. Then a pompadoured head would raise itself over the window sill and blink its sleepy eyes at us, and maybe a pig would grunt from under the house.

The fall was certainly worth seeing. From a height of eighty feet it dashed over a precipice bedded in luxuriant verdure which put the shining drops in high relief. We all undressed and got directly under the fall where the falling water struck us with the force of bullets. We had hardly dressed when a number of Filipino men and women came for a bath. Like all South Sea Islanders, the Filipinos love the water. The women went into the bath with all their clothes on. Then with a peculiar herb which they use, they washed their hair.

We decided to scale the side of the cliff and return by a different route. The climb was hard. The ground was steep and tangled with bamboos, rattans and all manner of underbrush. It was a hard work for about an hour until we arrived on the top of a spur which seemed to have been cleared of jungle and was overgrown simply with tall grasses. A surveying party had also staked a line over the spur and had left a convenient trail cleared by which we were able to return to the pueblo.

Our point of vantage gave us a splendid view of the lake. At our foot lay the nipa roofs of Los Baños. Not far away a circle of trees enclosing a basin of water told of an ancient volcano. To our right towered Mt. Makiling (7,300 ft.) overcapping the nearer height of Mt. San Cristobal. Hardly any of the land, so far as I could see, was under cultivation. Far to the left stretched the waters of the Laguna, finally merging into the board plain on which stands Manila.

We descended the mountain, following the surveying trail, and at twelve o'clock arrived at the jetty. In a short while all the crowd had gathered and we set off, taking our dinner out in the lake.

We crossed the lake to the city quarries. From that point we skirted a steep shore overgrown with tropical verdure. In a small inlet lay a cluster of nipa roofs, the town of Binangonan. Here five soldiers were murdered on May 31, 1902, by the natives. They had come to decorate the grave of a comrade.

Morrill fell to talking about the campaign in Batangas. General Bell had received autograph orders from Taft, and I believe also from Rott, to end the war in any way he could. Wherever shots were found coming from any house the place was burnt up. The concentration policy was adopted. The people were all concentrated at points under the control of the military. The country was deserted, the fruit and crops remained unharvested. Morrill told of riding thru groves of oranges and plucking the fruit from the trees.

Bartlett Sinclair for eight months had no white help in his office while treasurer of Rizal. All this time he had had from six to a dozen Filipinos. As a result of persistent appeals for help he finally got an assistant who afterwards stole from him and was subsequently sent to Bilibid. His name was Fogerty. His accounts were not examined in spite of repeated requests, from September 1901 to January 1903. He was then suspended and kept eights months waiting for trial. He was finally indicted for negligence in office and acquitted October 19, 1903. It is the general opinion that the Filipinos made way with the money.

Oct. 20, 1903 — Went with Prautch and Engelbracht to visit Aglipay. We found the Filipino prelate in his episcopal residence on a back street near the Binondo canal where, as "Deacon" had explained, his episcopal outlook consisted of a hencoop. We went up thru a *vestibulo* which seemed to serve as a general depository for odds and ends. A few men and women occupied the rather sordid appearing reception room. We were ushered into what appeared to be Aglipay's study. At one end, on an altar stood a gaudy crucifix covered by a glass sphere. A mass of books lay piled on a table, giving the impression that they had been temporarily removed from a shelf for cleaning purposes. Presently Aglipay appeared, clad rather negligibly, in a white cassock. He greeted us cordially.

Aglipay does not impress one as a leader. He is a medium-sized man, rather large for a Filipino. He has thick, iron gray hair. A small spot of the crown was shaven, according to regulations. His mouth is mobile and shows nervousness, lack of confidence.

He fell to talking with us in Spanish in regard to the friar lands. These he maintained belonged to the state, as well as the church property. In many cases the priests had assumed ownership without any color of right, as in the case of certain meadow land which had been occupied by the priests of the parish church of Pandacan. This land had been loaned to them solely for the purpose of aiding in the support of the church. The *padres* had then arrogated to themselves the entire title of the land.

My suggestion to Aglipay was that he should base his propaganda on the immorality of the friars, enjoining strict morality upon his own adherents. In this way his propaganda would take the aspect of a true reform, and he could gain the confidence of the people at home. Aglipay agreed with me in this. He showed me a clipping from a Puerto Rico paper to the effect that the church question there had been settled by placing the property in the hands of the municipalities. He also showed me a copy of the Methodist discipline which he was using in drafting the law of his own church.

Manila — Oct. 24. — Curran was good enough to invite Reed and myself on a trip to Cavite. We had one of the largest government launches. We emerged from the Pasig and passed outside of the old breakwater which had been built in the Spanish days. There was considerable shipping in the harbor, among the rest a couple of transports, several bargentines that had come with lumber from Oregon. Cavite was barely distinguishable in the distant haze. As we got out into the bay the mountains stood out boldly above the flat land. Out towards the sea in the offing lay Corregidor and the height of Mariveles.

Cavite is the naval station and quite a number of vessels lay anchored off the shore. Among these lay the skeleton hulks of the *Reina Cristina, Isla de Mindanao,* and as we entered the river, turning left, the sunken hulk of the *Don Juan de Ulloa* which lay across the bar, and the old ram *Marques del Duero.*

We boarded the coastguard cutter *Tablas.* Curran ("Dan") had to inspect the boilers. Two New Englanders were in command, Captain Miller and first officer Harriman, the latter from Maine. We went upon the top deck and viewed the old wrecks lying about. Harriman remarked that there were no shot holes below the waterline. There had been some Filipinos among the crews and there was a dark suspicion that they had opened the sea cocks and sunk the ships. Harriman pointed out a Filipino on the lower deck who was then chief machinist of the *Tablas.* He had been one of the engineers of the *Reina Cristina,* and himself confessed to having helped to sink the ship.

Along the shore of Cavite were found low board batteries. The river wound in between low banks, dotted with nipa. To the right stretched the narrow finger of Sangley Point, at whose tip the Atlantic Gulf and Pacific Company was putting up a great steel coal shed. Nearby the Sangley Point Dry Dock Company had its ship. A small coasting steamer was perched at the top and men were busy riveting plates, the air vibrating with the sound of busy strokes. Another steamer was just being drawn up.

We steamed over to the ship, went ashore, and met two Englishmen, Young and Aiken, who were in charge of the dock works. They lent us a small boat and Reed and I were pulled over to the hulk of the *Marques del Duero*. The wreck was red with rust and oyster shells had clustered thick high above the water line. I pulled myself aboard, followed by Reed. The woodwork of the deck was all gone, and the steel ribs and deck beams twisted and distorted. One uncommunicative Filipino was the sole inhabitant of the wreck, and he was busy in the remains of the old galley cooking his rice. I climbed up over the armored bow over the long ram and looked aft. Like a gaping, grim skeleton, the old hulk lay. I took several pictures, and we steamed out between the *Reina Cristina* and the *Isla de Mindanao*. Silent and spectral, the old wrecks lay, typical of the fall of the greatest power the world has seen. A peso or two jingled in my pocket. I turned over one of the coins in my hand and read the legend *non plus ultra* wound between the columns symbolical of the traditional Pillars of Hercules. In the short space of three hundred years the people of the peninsula had emerged from their confines, extended their religion and their government to the uttermost bounds of the earth and had returned whence they came; they had completed the circle of their glory and once again the Pillars of Hercules mark the confines of their empire.

In the evening I called on Judge Johnson and had a long talk with him on the legal side of the government. The judge was in favor of retaining the old penal code — the only change he thought necessary would be in the way of a mitigation of penalties. The punishments were not so difficult to understand. Under the old Spanish system of procedure all cases tried by the courts of first instance inevitably went up to the Supreme

Court. At the present time all cases where the death penalty is imposed go up *propio vigore*. The penal code provides for three grades of punishment — the medium, maximum, and minimum. It then provides for aggravating and mitigating or extenuating circumstances that may occur. In this way a rather complex system results — not so complex however, in Judge Johnson's opinion, as some people would have one believe.

October 27, 1903. — Had a long talk with the Filipino lawyers in the office. The Filipino members seem all to have taken part in the insurrection. Araneta was secretary of justice; De Veyra was secretary of diplomacy; Legarda was *secretario de hacienda*; Paredes was a member of the Congress of Malolos; Salas was in the Negros province.

October 30. — The boys got up a dinner to celebrate my departure. They went to great pains over it. The invited guests were Mr. and Mrs. Tabor, Mr. and Mrs. Thornton, and Mrs. Ashmore and her daughter, Chambliss' fiancée. The boys had been planning the thing for a week without letting me know anything about it until one evening Dan Curran asked me to keep Friday night open for going down to the theatre with him. I told him I had been invited to Judge John Johnson's but would get away early and go down with him at about 8:30 Then he said that dinner was included in the invitation. I said I did not see how I could break off my engagement at the Judge's and asked him to leave the dinner out. There was a whispered consultation among the boys and finally Cameron blurted out about wanting to give me a good send off. Then Dieck pitched into me about inviting Bartlett Sinclair down for dinner on Thursday — that took that night out, and I had invited him simply for the purpose of pumping him. Then all pitched into me with one consent for spoiling their plans. I saw there was nothing for me to do but to cancel my engagement with Judge Johnson.

The dinner went off a great success. The table was beautifully decorated with flowers. The menu cards were souvenir postals. An ample supply of whisky, sauterne and wine had been furnished. The first toast was to me and to the "cause that was taking me home" as Chandler expressed it. I responded with a toast to those who were staying. This did not seem to arouse much enthusiasm. Dock had the good luck to be seated between Mrs. Tabor and Miss Ashmore. He was the cynosure of all eyes and he certainly played his part to the king's taste. I had never seen the anthropologists sparkle and scintillate in such a way before.

October 31.— My things were all packed, thank to Cameron's assistance. At seven o'clock they were loaded on a *carretela.* I said goodbye to the boys, the best friends I had ever made, and was going to start off in the *carretela* when Dieck called to me to go with him. So I let the *carretela* go on and followed with Dieck in the carromata. The boys were standing at the window and as the *caballo* tugged up the bridge gave the old grunt — "ugh" — which we had given so often when we saw the little animals struggling up the incline.

I went to the office and then to the Supreme Court building. I met Judge Johnson on the way and we went up to his room where we had a short talk. The Judge told me of his early struggles against poverty. I left him with new determination for the struggles that I saw would be mine.

I then returned to the office, saying goodbye to every one and Engelbracht accompanied me across to the captain of the ports. Here I met Dan, Mr. Reed and Cameron and we went out to the *Zafiro* on a government launch. The streamer was in gala attire in honor of Collector W. Morgan Shuster who was to leave that afternoon. After getting aboard we learned that she would not sail until five o'clock in the afternoon. So, I returned with the launch and spent the morning wandering about old Manila. In the afternoon I called at J. G. White's office and bade goodbye to Cam and Mr. Reed and went aboard. The bottles were popping at a merry rate on deck, for Shuster was on board and his friends were baptizing his departure in beer and scotch and soda.

Hong Kong —Nov. 3, 1903.— Arrived in Hong Kong early in the morning after a rough voyage. The *Zafiro* with her high superstructure took the seas badly. One wave dashed over the top deck and swamped a lot of us at dinner, coming down through the topmost skylight.

In Hong Kong I put up at the American Hotel, conducting a couple of Filipino students ashore. They could not talk English, and spoke very poor Spanish. I wondered to myself what they possibly could know. They affected being very much horrified at the sight of men pulling vehicles in the streets, and gave it as their opinion that Hong Kong was *muy sucio.*

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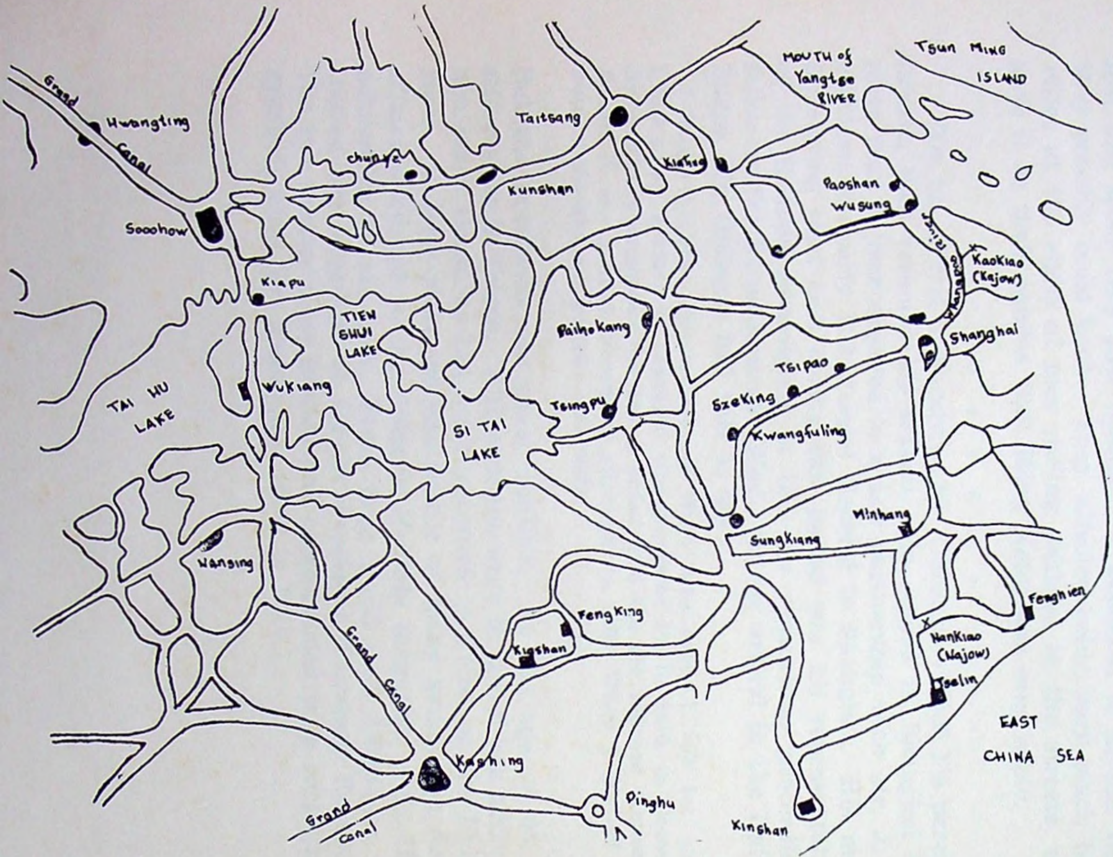
[On his arrival in Foochow, Mr. Ohlinger visited his parents briefly, then resumed his travels. He stayed in Shanghai for more than a year engaged in a law partnership with Mr. J. R. Jernigan, formerly U.S. Consul General in Shanghai. His most interesting legal case during this period was his representation of the Russian government at the war reparations proceedings following the Russo-Japanese War. Of his arrival in the United States, Mr. Ohlinger had this to say:

> When the war (Russo-Japanese War) was over, I left for home. I had a law partner in Shanghai who predicted I'd be back in China in six months. I remember the day I pulled into the old railroad station in Toledo. It was a bleak November afternoon in 1905. When I got off the train, I thought my partner was right.

But the prediction was never fulfilled. At the age of 94, he still resides in Toledo. Although the urge to travel has afflicted him many times, he has never returned to China or the Philippines. In later years, he was author of many articles on Asian affairs published in the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine. In 1917, publication of his book, *Their True Faith and Allegiance,* attracted the attention of former President Theodore Roosevelt. The two became close friends and corresponded with each other regularly until Mr. Roosevelt's death in 1919.]



TSUN MING ISLAND
MOUTH of Yangtse RIVER
Grand Hwangting Canal
Taitsang
chunye
Kunshan
Kiahsu
Paoshan
Wusung
Sooohow
Kiapu
TIEN SHUI LAKE
Paihokang
Whangpoo River
KaoKiao (Kajow)
Shanghai
TSIPAO
SzeKing
Kwangfuling
TAI HU LAKE
Wukiang
SI TAI LAKE
Tsingpu
Minhang
Sungkiang
Wansing
FengKing
Kiashan
Fenghien
NanKiao (Najow)
Tselin
Grand Canal
Kashing
Pinghu
Kinshan
EAST CHINA SEA
Grand Canal

SCENE OF MANILAMEN'S EXPLOITS IN CHINA (1860—1864)

Manilamen Surprise Shanghai Stronghold

Charles J. McCarthy, S.J.

IF THE NEWSHAWKS and teletypes of today had been working in good form on July 17, 1860, bold headlines in the afternoon papers might well have read:

MANILAMEN SURPRISE,
SEIZE KEY SHANGHAI STRONGHOLD

Twentieth-century television cameras would not have helped to tell the story. The attack was staged from shallow-draught boats that silently threaded creeks and canals through rich rice fields in the Yangtse river delta. (Shanghai epicures know that the fat fish of Sungkiang are fed on good grain.)

The time-table of the attack counted carefully on the last night of the old moon, when only dim starlight pierced the darkest hours and gave a little outline to the hulking, stout-walled city of Sungkiang.

The garrison that held the city were *Ch'angmao*, "Long haired" soldiers of a Taiping army which for ten terrible years had cut a wide swath with fire and sword, fighting savagely through the provinces of south, east, and central China. Such fear did these forces strike into the people of southern Kiangsu that fifty years later people there still spoke in whispers, telling their children of atrocities the *Ch'angmao* wrought on their raids.[1]

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[1] Timothy Richard in Vincent Y. S. Shih, *The Training Ideology* (Univ. of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1967), p. 423.

In mid-1860 Shanghai was threatened by a new surge of Taiping action under the generalship of Li Hsiu-cheng, the *Chung Wang* or Loyal King, who ably served this rebel "Divine Kingdom of Heavenly Peace."

Montalto de Jesus, historian of Shanghai, captures something of the prevailing mood in paragraphs about the city in similar straits two years later:

> Never had the picturesque neighborhood of Shanghai been the scene of more appaling calamities than those which now left in desolation the magnificent cities of Soochow and Hangchow as well as the once smiling, luxuriant plains. By night lurid glare, by day obscuring smoke heralded the dreaded hordes. With clanging gongs and waving flags, on they came in demoniac frenzy, their hideous yells intermingling with the cries of ravished women, of the perishing multitude of men, women and children who escaped. And in the trail of these hellhounds the silence of the grave came over smouldering ruins and devastated fields, strewn with festering corpses up to the creeks and the recesses of thickets and groves.
>
> Such was the terror inspired by the harrowing experiences of refugees, that even within the (Shanghai) settlement, the consternation of the natives was pitiable on the approach of Taiping troops. On one occasion the cry arose in Nanking Road that the rebels were coming from the Bubbling Well. In the stampede that ensued a huge mass of natives rushed toward the Bung. Some in despair plunged into the Whangpoo river and perished, while many women and children were trodden to death on the way.[2]

Just what foundation in fact lay behind this panic of the people may be disputed; but much converging evidence shows the panic was real.[3]

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[2] C. A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Shanghai* (Shanghai Mercury, Ltd., 1909), p. 123-124.

[3] With little critical sense Shanghai-based writers, contemporary and through the later quasi-colonial period, heard, believed, and recounted atrocity stories just as the mass of people around them did. For instance, when Soochow was taken by the Taipings in the Spring of 1860, the suburbs were looted and put to the torch; thousands of non-combatants were killed, and other thousands fled to Shanghai. Soohcow was held up to the world as a horrible example of Taiping barbarity. Yet a few responsible witnesses put it on record that not Chung Wang, the Taiping attacker, but the retreating Imperial viceroy, fired the suburbs and laid them waste.

Robert James Forrest, then British consul at Ningpo, wrote: "I never saw a foreigner return from Soochow who did not indulge in strong invective against the rebels for destroying the city's huge suburbs. And yet the rebels burned neither Soochow nor its suburbs. The Imperialist soldiers did it seven days before Chung Wang set out from his base in Wusih. The suburbs of Soochow will always rise in judgment against the Ch'angmaos, innocent of the carnage though they were."

Much more than has generally been appreciated the outcome of the Taiping rebellion influenced the history of East Asia in the 1850-1950 century. On both sides unbridled ferocity marked the fighting, and directly or indirectly it took a toll of 20 million lives. In its wake, it left a wasteland where populous provinces and cities flourished before. The rebellion's failure delayed the aggiornamento of China, its re-entry into contemporary world-society by fifty years (and left the political pressure-cooker near socio-political fires to gather more explosive steam for the violent upheavals of our own century.)

The rebellion, and its striking shortlived successes were largely due to a true economic and social ferment provoked by rapid population growth, a sudden surge of economic competition from foreign trade and industry, and a galloping exploitation of tenant farmers inside the Empire of China. Decadence in the Manchu court, and its dismally feeble showing against aggression, rapacity, and insolent humiliations from Westerners convinced many Chinese that the mandate of Heaven had passed from Peking's imperial court.

The Taiping leaders were, at first, only modestly and locally ambitious. Gradually, however, they came to feel that they were heirs to Heaven's mandate of rule over China, and they fought fiercely to establish the structure to act accordingly. Headman of the movement was Hung Hsiu-chuan, a confused but charismatic visionary, stirred powerfully by some Protestant Christian tracts he had read and digested poorly. Eager to rid China of idol-worshipping, he and his cohorts violently purged the temples of graven images and, doing so, provoked attempts at armed suppression by the provincial police and courts. The Taipings soon raised armed bands openly defying the imperial government, then unleashed the dogs of war to ravage the land in a northern expedition. They took Nanking and set up their

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"My experience of the Taipings, through long residence in their capital, will never get a favorable hearing if it is at all opposed to entrenched ideas. Order really did reign in Nanking; the Taipings had some uncommonly clever generals; fields not the scene of battles were well cultivated; the Taipings behaved no worse than the Imperialists. But if I state these things with every proof, I will be reviled as a rebel and a speaker of blasphemy against the brilliant political dawn now spreading over the empire with the defeat of the Taiping forces." In Holger Cahill. *A Yankee Adventurer* (Macaulay, N.Y., 1930), pp. 277-278.

capital there, and from it for a time they more or less controlled much of the countryside in the coastal and east-central provinces.

Onto this Taiping vehicle originally launched by bad theology, deeply discontented peasants boarded enthusiastically, bringing their own insights and yearnings for a better economy and social order, and a new brand of patriotism. These elements explain the great appeal and strength of the rebellion. But top-level military and political leadership was fatally flawed. Army organization and discipline broke down. Civil administration turned incompetent, corrupt and tyrannical, while the able Chinese scholar-gentry were alienated by extremism and the new superstitions.

Where do our Manilamen enter the story? They were seafarers. "There was always a number of men from the Philippines in the busy port of Shanghai," wrote Robert S. Rantoul; "They are held to be the ablest of Asiatic seamen."[4]

After ten years of fighting, Hung Hsiu-chuan, the Celestial Prince and Apostle of the Heavenly Peace, had his court and capital established in Nanking. He saw, however, that the capture of Shanghai was a vital necessity to consolidate his gains, and the moment to seize it seemed at hand when British and French troops were baiting the Emperor's forces off Taku and Tientsin and eased the pressure of a cordon of imperial troops encircling the Taiping army around Nanking.

Shanghai controls the mouth of the Yangtse Kiang, perhaps the world's greatest inland waterway. From Shanghai, the Taiping regime could have access to vast facilities for revenue, trade, and supplies. To divert Shanghai customs receipts from the imperial coffers into the poorly-fed Taiping treasury would leave unpaid imperial troops disgruntled, and notably strengthen Taiping discipline and morale.

The richer families from war-stricken farms and cities to the north, east and south had fled into Shanghai, with as much portable treasure in silks, gold bars, and artistic heirlooms as their creaking ox-carts and wheelbarrows could salvage to tide them over the crisis and leave them a nest-egg to revive the family later on. The city was vulnerable, too, for being crowded with the poor,[5] and the smell of rich men's wealth lured rebel armies, used to a rather free hand at rapine and looting after cities were taken.

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[4] R. S. Rantoul, excerpt of the biography *Frederick Townsend Ward*, in Harley F. MacNair's, *A Modern Chinese History Selected Readings* (1923); republished by Paragon Book Reprint Co. (N.Y., 1967), p. 351.

Were the Taipings to occupy Shanghai securely, their victory would have a propaganda impact which the rest of the world could not ignore. For Shanghai was the news-capital of China even then. Much more than the political capital, Peking, Shanghai was the bridge—city for commerce and information between China and Europe and America.

Previous Taiping campaigns to invest Shanghai had either been bought off by "protection money", or had been called off for fear of triggering intervention by British and French troops and gunboats. The Chinese imperial government, while getting in and out of wars with Western bullies bent on wresting concessions and treaty ports from it, was most anxious to retain its hold on Shanghai; Peking was not above involving Western countries on its side in the Chinese civil strife. The whole Shanghai community, local refugee and foreign, watched with alarm the growing list of cities looted and levelled by Taiping soldiery in Kiangsi Anhwei, Chekiang, and Kiangsu provinces.

But in early June, 1860, the Patriotic Association of Merchants and Bankers, in behalf of the main Chinese and foreign business communities, abandoned any pretense at neutrality, and extended its support to the Emperor's central authority. It was not that the foreigners desired *Manchu* rule to continue, or imperial power strengthened. Simply, they saw their own material interests in danger of being wiped out. They even rationalized that "civilization was at stake",[6] because repeated reports were arriving that extreme cruelty and religious aberrations were by now rife in the Taiping ranks. Shanghai's patricians contacted the imperial viceroy; they offered money, promised gunboats and artillery, and organized drill-corps to defend the city.

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[5] "In the fields back of the growing magnificence if Western Shanghai and the settled native city, was a city of squatters living in starvation and filth, hugging the mere hope against hunger, disease, and exposure. These were the refugees who had fled before Taipings, disintegrating Chinese castaways swept by the tides of civil war." Cahill, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[6] Rantoul, *Frederick Townsend Ward* (Essex Institute Reprint, Salem, Mass., 1908), p. 30.

Into this crisis stepped Frederick Townsend Ward, a 28-year-old New England adventurer. Ward at the time was serving as first officer aboard the American-built gunboat, *Confucius*. commanded by an Englishman, Lieutenant Gough. The *Confucius* was one of a flotilla of large and small craft assembled by the Shanghai businessmen to harass the Taipings and suppress piracy on the Yangtse. The spokesman and paymaster for the merchants was Yang Tse-tang. Some records refer to him as *Taki*, which was the name for his "hong" or bank. Prominent and wealthy, Yang was confidential adviser to Li Hung-chang, then fast rising towards a famed career in imperial politics and diplomacy. Yang was likewise the financial mainstay of the hard-pressed Shanghai-area civil and military authorities.

Ward was a mercenary soldier-of-fortune. To the Orient he brought experience from free-lance campaigning in Mexico and Central America uprisings. (Sir Frederick Bruce, British consul in Shanghai, described him in official dispatches as an "ex-California freebooter".) Ward also told friends he had served as a lieutenant fighting with the French in the Crimean War, but no official record supports his story. In China he aspired to power, wealth, and fame. Through a friend, Ward gained an interview with Yang Tse-tang, and started it off with a crude financial proposal as bold (and successful) as a subsequent bid for the hand of the banker's daughter in marriage.[7]

Plausibly and flatly Ward promised that for 30,000 taels of silver, to be paid upon success in action, he would recruit and train mercenaries to capture the menacing stronghold of Taiping forces in Sungkiang, a *hsien* or district capital some 28 airline miles in delta land west of Shanghai. Ward claimed that after he had taken Sungkiang, he would use it as a base for land and water operations which would free Shanghai once and for all from any threat of being overrun by Taiping soldiery.

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[7] Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Shanghai* (Shanghai Mercury, Ltd., Shanghai, 1909), p. 127. Cahill, *op. cit.*, p. 41, says that Latin America was the scene of Ward's career as *filibustero*. He was mate of a ship that conveyed Forty-Niners to the California gold rush, and in 1853 he embarked from San Francisco, for China aboard the clipper ship, *Westward Ho!*. In the 1849-1853 period, however, he spent little time in California.

Desperate as he was about his city's plight, Yang jumped at this offer of Ward's. He advanced enough funds at once to start the enlistment and drilling of a militia force about 100 strong. These first recruits were an ill-assorted mixture, evidence of Ward's early contempt for the fighting prowess of oriental foes. Not much later, his respect for his enemy and his own humility were to grow considerably.

At any rate, with schedules for loading and sailing disrupted by the hinterland fighting, and the city's amusements rather wild, Shanghai just then swarmed with a riff-raff of deserters and discharged seamen from foreign naval and merchants ships, ready for any wild escapade.[8] Ward told Yang that properly fed, sharply uniformed, well-armed and led, this rabble could be counted on to teach the Chinese rebels a lesson in valor and strategy that would send them running off in panic.

Perhaps because Ward spoke in such cocksure fashion, Yang pressed him to move his small and motley corps up against Sungkiang in three weeks time, before the month of June had passed. "The great walled town swarmed with the defiant horde which once had captured, then lost, and again retaken it from the Manchus," writes Rantoul, Ward's biographer. "Lacking artillery to effect a breach, Ward attempted to scale the walls, but the garrison had no difficulty in defending them." The remnants of his company, after a severe repulse, straggled back to Shanghai and was discharged.[9]

Hosea Ballou Morse reconstructs the episode thus in his generally faithful historical novel, *In the Days of the Taipings*:[10]

> Just before the foray, Ward tells Mei-sun, his interpreter: 'You see what Taki's haste has driven me to. I have had to take what men I could get, bums, longshoremen, driftwood in the drinking saloons, deserters from the

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[8] Rantoul, in MacNair, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

[9] Rantoul, *op. cit.*

[10] Published by Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., 1927 (hereafter cited as Morse, *Days*). This historical novel by a scholar and trained observer, resident in China from 1887 to 1918, describes the Shanghai background ,the clumsiness of the imperial government, and the careers of Ward, Burgevine, Gordon, etc., in detail. Its information is helpful for historians, but not fully sure, because Mei-sun of the Eva (Ever Victorious Army), relaitng the story in the first person, is a fictional character. H. B. Morse devotes four careful chapters to the Taiping Movement in his three volume work, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (hereafter cited as Morse, *Relations*.)

> ships. If I had time I could lick even them into shape; but as it is, well. we start in two days.[11]

Morse presents Ward six days later, bloody and bowed but unbroken, as he reported on the hapless raid to Yang Tse-tang in Shanghai:

> "There, Taki," he said. "You see what haste has done. Now I will set to work my own way, and in a month I will come to you with a different story."
>
> "How did it happen? My men were a lot of drunken rowdies, and they took drink along with them. By the time we got to Sungkiang, just before dawn, they were making a hell of a noise, and the walls were fully manned in readiness for us. My men fought well, I'll say that for them, but unregulated courage is of no use. And we could not get a footing on the wall, so we had to come back. We lost a few killed and a great number wounded."[12]

"Ward's next recourse," writes his biographer, "was the Manilamen always to be found at Shanghai . . . One of the company recruited at this time was Vicente Macanaya."[13]

Holger Cahill, a later writer, states in greater detail:

> The first thing was to get together a body of men who would be an army and not a mob. In the native city, Ward met a young Manilaman, as the Filipinos were then called, who helped him. This was Vicente Macanaya, a youth of twenty-three, born in Manila. Vicente was a soldier of fortune, and was known as wildcat in battle. He had a big following among the Shanghai Manilamen, who were considered the best of Asiatic seamen, and first-rate military material. These Filipino beachcombers were numerous in Shanghai at the time, and were as unpopular (with the merchant and missionary upper crust) as the rowdies who made up Ward's first force. When Ward started to enlist these men, European Shanghai shrugged its shoulders and said the Manilamen would get what they needed from the Taiping musketeers at Sungkiang. Shanghai began to feel that Ward was a sort of scavenger sent to rid the community of its ruffians. In the first operation Ward had yielded to the importunities of his Chinese backers who wanted action at once. Now he made up his mind that he would move before he was ready. He enlisted two hundred Manilamen and half a dozen foreign drillmasters, mostly deserters from the British marines. He put these men into camp a few miles from Shanghai. With Burgevine, Forrester, and Macanaya as his lieutenants he proceeded to teach his raw recruits the meaning of 'hay foot, straw foot', and other military mysteries of the West. He put the force under the strictest

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[11] Morse, *Days*, p. 191.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

[13] Rantoul, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

discipline, and when he felt that his new army was getting on with its training, he set out in search of cannon.[14]

Morse was an historian with some flare for fiction. During his 30-year stay in China, however, he researched his narrative on the spot, and he had access to such papers as survived in 1890. Morse writes of this period:

> I (Mei-sun) reported to Mr. Ward as ready for service. He radiated contentment with his present position, and told me he was sharpening a spearpoint for the army of which he hoped to have command before long.
>
> I have two splendid fellows to command under me, Forrester from our midwest, and Burgevine, from South Carolina. I have got rid of that gang of sailors, and have enlisted a hundred Manilamen; and I have a lot of good muskets and bayonets for them. Come out and see them drill.[15]

Shortly afterwards we find Mei-sun recalling:

> On a vacant field which served as a parade ground, I saw his hundred Manilamen, natives of the Philippines, drilling vigorously under two foreign officers. Their ranks were irregular, compared with the foreign men-of-war's squad which I had seen drilling on the Bund. But they marched quickly and strongly, keeping step fairly well, and they handled their arms smartly. Then the men were dismissed from parade.[16]

Again it is H. B. Morse who describes a briefing which "Colonel" Ward held with his lieutenants shortly before the unit set out for Sungkiang.

Burgevine speaks:

> In our Manilamen we have a more trustworthy force than you had in your first attempt, and you will now be able to do what you could not do before. The rebels probably believe that you will not dare repeat your former methods. So I reckon, Colonel, that we had better disappoint them, and in this attempt follow precisely the methods which failed in the first try. What do you say, Forrester?"
>
> Forrester favored approach from the west or land side, not from the east or Sungkiang creek side as on the first attempt. He proposed that this time they not try to scale the wall, but directly blow in the city-gate with explosives. However, Forrester was outvoted. "With only a hundred men it is a desparate attempt at best," Ward said, "We'll stay with the way I think has a chance of success.[17]

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[14] Cahill, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[15] Morse, *Days*, p. 193.
[16] *Ibid*, p. 194.
[17] *Ibid*, p. 195.

Aboard the Vulcan, a small shallow-draught steamer, the expedition set out from Shanghai at a time which would bring it to Sungkiang an hour or two after midnight, July 16, when there was no moonlight at all. The craft chugged up the stream noisily, but the men were transferred to small boats early enough and were poled along quietly by sturdy seamen so that the force could slip up on Sungkiang in silence.

The straight historical sources tell us that they surprised the sleeping garrison. Vicente Macanaya spearheaded a squad which in daredevil style slipped up and over the city wall. From within they glided swiftly to one of the city gates and threw it open to admit Ward and the rest of his company inside. They stifled resistance, and quickly won all parts of the city, setting up a headquarters post near the Confucian temple.

Rantoul writes:

> The plunder of this rich and populous city went as perquisites to swell, after the manner of Asiatic warfare, the promised pay of the soldiers, but Ward promptly collected his contract sum of 30,000 taels of silver also.[18]

Montalto de Jesus reports the event:

> Ward, after his initial repulse, returned to the charge with a reinforcement of Filipinos, and seizing one of the city gates at night, held it against every onset until the main force of the imperialists came up in the morning; then the Taipings were driven out of the city.[19]

It is the Morse account which more generously gratifies our curiosity for detail:

> The tattoo of drums sounded in Sungkiang for the change of watch, but in a slovenly way. Fortunately we did not have to swim the moat, but were able to wade across; the water, however, came up to our armpits. Some of the men had to cross it twice, the first time with scalling ladders, the second with their muskets and ammunition held above their heads. Not much noise was made, and we escaped detection.
>
> In a short time the ladders were erected against the wall. Up them we and 50 of our Manilamen soon mounted. In silence Mr. Burgevine led one squad to the right and then one to the left, stationing each atop a ramp on the inner side. There was not a sound from the city.
>
> The plans had been worked out. 'As soon as you hear a shot, light

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[18] Rantoul, *Ward,* p. 31.

[19] Montalto de Jesus, p. 126.

> the blue light and send up rockets. Have the men fire as rapidly as they can, and then reload. Let all shout and generally made a hell of a noise.'
>
> Lend me your pistol, Meisun," Ward called to me; and then, "Vicente!" One of the Manilamen with an intelligent and determined-looking face came forward and saluted smartly. "Detach ten men, and come with me."
>
> ...Coming to the inner vault of the West gate, Colonel Ward looked cautiously around a corner, and I over his shoulder. We saw, by the light of a lantern hanging from the side of the archway, one drowsy sentinel sitting there, and several others lying asleep. Without a word, Ward pointed with his light and pliant rattan cane. Vicente Macanaya with his ten men dashed in; within a few seconds the guards were bayoneted.
>
> The rattan cane then pointed to the ponderous bar closing the gate, and in a couple of minutes the gate was swung open. A minute more and Mr. Forrester marched in with his men. The gate was held.[20]

The signal shot was fired; rockets whistled and burst in the sky; bloodcurdling yells echoed from the walls as the force secured its bridgehead inside the city. "We were shouting like hell, but spent no time in looting just then," Morse has Meisun say. The Taiping counter-attacked, and until dawn hot skirmishes were fought. At sunrise the imperialist reinforcement came up, poured through the gate, and put the Taiping garrison to flight, with guards stationed at each of the gates. The city was won for the imperial authority by that scanty force of three Americans and a hundred Manilamen.[21]

Holger Cahill, professedly writing a factual biography of Ward, gives quite a different account of the taking of Sungkiang. I adjoin his version here, because possibly he is telling us how things really happened. But I also feel that Cahill took at least as much liberty with his historical data in reconstructing the events as did the scholar Morse, who in the *Days*, frankly admits he dramatizes his material somewhat to make it more readable and coherent.

> Within a month of his first attempt on Sungkiang, Ward was ready to try again. He had got his cannon, and had persuaded General Li Ai-tang, commander of the Chinese provincial troops at Shanghai, to back him up. With General Li he now laid plans for his second expedition against Sungkiang.

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[20] Morse, *Days*, pp. 199-200

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 201

The plan was to have Ward's men take up a position at nightfall within 100 yards of the East Gate of Sungkiang. In the meantime Li Ai-tang's army of 7000 men would move up and encamp about a mile from the East Gate, to cover the rear of Ward's force in case of defeat, and to come in if Ward got a foothold in the city. The attack was to begin at 10 p.m. with a cannonade. The East Gate was to be battered down and taken in the first rush; its cannon were to be turned upon the city.

Ward's force left Shanghai in the late afternoon of July 16, 1860, and was transported by boat up the Whangpoo river to Sungkiang. The evening was foggy. When the force arrived just after nightfall, it was Ward's men debarked some little distance from Sungkiang and were lined up by their officers for final orders and inspection of equipment. Everything was in good shape. The men were ordered to creep up within a hundred yards of the wall.

Ward and his first officer, Edward Forrester, went forward and made sure of the position by examining the walls and gate which they were to bombard. When they returned, they sighted their guns toward the East Gate, and sent word to General Li Ai-tang to be ready to support the attack. In the foggy night it was impossible to tell whether or not Li's army had arrived, but Ward knew it was not far from Sungkiang.

At ten o'clock, out of the black night, Ward's guns blazed away at the East Gate of Sungkiang. He had two twelve-pounders and several light six-pounder guns, and these did the work quickly. The Taiping rushed to the walls and returned the fire, but Ward's concentrated cannonade smashed down the gate before the rebel fire could do any damage. Ward gave the signal for the charge. His Manilamen rushed the gate, with a cheer, crossed the moat on ladders, and advanced to meet the Taipings garrison.

They met a blank wall. Ward examined the position hastily, and dis--covered that Chinese engineering was not to be brushed aside so lightly. His work was just begun. The inner gate, at right angles to the gate which had been smashed down, was still intact. Ward immediately ordered his guns forward. He soon found this impossible, for he had not bridges to bring them over the moat. The next best thing was to blow up the gate with blasting powder. Ward has brought twenty fifty-pound bags of powder, and he now ordered them carried forward. While this was going on, Ward's men were under the arch of the main gate, protected from the direct fire of the Taipings, but not from the stinkpot bombs, which were swung under the arch in great number. (The stinkpot was an earthen ware hand-bomb charged with asphyxiating chemicals. It was much used by Chinese pirates.) The fumes from these bombs soon made the position of the force under the archway a bad one.

Blowing up the inner gate was not easy. To lay the blasting powder Ward's men had to cross an open court surrounded by a high semi-circular wall on which were hundred of Taipings, armed with matchlocks and gingalls. Ward and Macanaya led the blasting party. As soon as the party rushed out from the cover of the arch the wall around them blazed with fire. Men fell an all sides. An English deserter beside Ward had the top of his head taken off by a cannon ball. But the party went forward spurred by the cool daring of Ward and Macanaya. They piled the powder bags against the inner gate under murderous fire from the wall, put in a backing of wood and bricks from the demolished outer gate, and laid a fuse. The blasting party then scuttled for the cover of the archway.

Under the arch Ward's men waited for the explosion, ready to dash for the city when the blast came. The fuse had been cut long, and the few minutes they had to wait seemed an eternity. Stinkpot bombs came under the arch like hail. The filibusters had begun to fear that something had happened to their fuse when the blast came. The air was still thick with flying bricks and wood as Ward and Macanaya rushed toward the inner gate, followed by Forrester, Burgevine, and the Manilamen. As they stumbled through fog and smoke toward the gate they found that it looked for a moment as if Ward's second attack on Sungkiang was to fail. But Ward found an opening, two feet wide where one of the doors had been forced in. There was just space enough for one man to pass. Without a moment's hesitation, Ward squeezed through this opening, followed by Macanaya, Forrester, and Burgevine. They went in to what looked like a certain death. The rebels rushed upon them from the walls, and before a dozen men were through they were surrounded by hundreds of Taipings. The officers carried swords and Colt's revolvers, and these proved terribly effective in the hand-to-hand fighting. The leaders were able to hold back the Taipings while the whole force made its way in, man by man. Not a man of Ward's rowdy legion faltered.

Then began a vicious hand-to-hand battle for the possession of the East Gate. The Manilamen were armed with Sharp's repeating carbines, the most effective gun of its kind at that time, and with the Malay kris, a wicked weapon at close quarters. From the inner gate a ramp led to the top of the wall, where was stationed a battery of guns which was the key to the city. Step by step Ward and his men cut their way through a solid mass of bodies. The wall was forty feet high. It took Ward's force two hours to climb that forty feet. Inch by inch Ward's daredevils made their way up the narrow ramp along the inner wall, slashing and firing at such close quarters that the discharge of their rifles set fire to their enemies' clothing. In a short time four thousand rebels were massed along the ramp and about the East Gate. Through this mass of soldiers armed with swords, spears and ancient muskets the filibusters slashed their way, driving bayonets and krises into the living wall. Wherever there was space for a man to stand up, there a Taiping would stand swinging his sword, ready to oppose at the cost of his life the advance of the foreign "devil soldiers." For two hours the battle raged uncertainly. Hardly a man in the force was unwounded. Captain Forrester fought through most of the engagement with a shattered thigh, dragging himself up the incline and using his revolver. Ward himself was wounded, though not seriously.

Slowly the Taipings melted away before the torrid fire of Ward's Manilamen, and at midnight the force reached the top of the wall and took the battery of guns. 62 men had been killed out of the original force of 200. Of the remaining 138 men, 101 were wounded.

Ward was now in possession of the East Gate of Sungkiang and able to turn its guns upon the city. But his position was shaky. On three sides were the rebels, overwhelmingly outnumbering his men. When the rebels saw how small the force was they began a series of counter attacks that continued all night with undiminished fury. Ward's men hastily built a breastwork of stone and brick gathered from the wall. Behind this they lay and held off the Taiping rushes with effective volleys. It soon became evident to Ward that he could not hold this position long. He needed the reenforcement of Li Ai-tang's army to make good his hold on the city. But there was neither sight nor sound of Li.

Ward now swung a messenger over the walls, with orders to tell Li Ai-tang of the capture of the East Gate, and with a demand that he move his troops up to Sungkiang at once. Ward could not command Li, since the Chinese general was under orders simply to cooperate with him. Time passed and no Li Ai-tang. Ward's Manilamen fought on, hour after hour. Another messenger was dispatched, and then another, and another, but all night long Li's seven thousand braves failed to appear. Dawn came and still no Li.

A little after six o'clock in the morning, when Ward's force had been reduced to a hundred effectives, officers and men, through the foggy morning light appeared the head of Li's column. The Chinese general had not believed the messengers who told him the East Gate was taken. He had refused to move his army until morning when he could see with his own eyes that it was safe to advance.

Ward received his contract price for the capture of Sungkiang (Cahill, in 1930, said that the taels of silver were rated as worth from $45,000 to $133,000 in different estimates.) The plunder left by the Taipings and loot from the city itself further increased his funds. To replace the fallen in his ranks, Ward engaged more Manilamen, some crewmen from naval and merchant ships in Manila, and also Chinese attracted by the pay and 'fringe benefits.'[22] The welcome he gave to renegade seamen aroused the ire of naval officers and ship masters. "Pirate, buccaneer, and filibuster were the mildest names these gentlemen applied to Ward."[23] Unruffled, he hardened his troops with stiff drills night and torrid day, and likewise bought new guns. Discipline and artillery were his advantages against the rebels, he knew, so he cultivated both with care.

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[22] Morse, in his *Relations,* II, p. 70, quotes Rantoul as listing, "5 European drillmasters, 25 European sailors, and about 200 Manilamen, the last including his faithful aide-the-camp Vicente Macanaya. Manilamen are now (1917) more generally known as Filipinos. (Macanaya, 23 years of age in 1860 was born in Manila, says Cahill, p. 155: the others may have hailed from anywhere in the Islands.)

Ward's regular pay was Taels 350 a month, that of privates (Manilamen)

On August 2, his men marched out of Sungkiang to serve as vanguard for the 10,000 Chinese imperialist soldiers of Li Ai-tang in an attempt to take Tsingpu, another walled city eight miles north of Sungkiang.

Ward attacked before General Li's army came up, expecting these Imperial troops to finish off the enemy once he had breached the city wall. The boats in attack made a feint against the west gate, but the main force under Ward struck hard at the south gate. The maneuver caught the rebels off guard, and Ward's unit scaled the wall under artillery cover. They won the gate, and formed on the wall in position to beat back counter attacks.

> All this was brilliantly carried out. The European deserters fought with desperate courage. But they fought no better than the Manilamen under Vicente Macanaya. This young Filipino daredevil was at Ward's shoulder throughout the battle, fighting like a demon. For a time a replica of the gallant Sungkiang victory seemed to be shaping up, but it was doomed to failure. This time the Taipings called Ward's bluff; they were 10,000 strong in Tsingpu, and were led by a resolute officer who had an English lieutenant, Savage, under him.
>
> The battle on the wall waged back and forth. The unit of Ward bravely held its ground a while, but the wall became too hot to hold. Li Ai-tang was again nowhere in sight. They were forced to retreat under terrific fire. Most of the officers, except Macanaya, were wounded... Ward five times. A bullet pierced his face from cheek to jaw, and would have stretched him flat on the wall had not Macanaya caught him as he fell. Ward recovered enough to direct the sorry retreat of his force. The Taipings made a sally from the south gate and took Ward's field guns and munitions. Worse, they captured his flotilla of gunboats, and forced his battered contingent to trudge eight miles across muddy fields, back to Sungkiang.[24]

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was Taels 30 (*North China Herald*, Aug. 4, 1860). Cahill says 30 Taels was then worth about $100. Ward received a predetermined bonus for each city taken; for those under him the prospect of loot far outweighed their actual pay.

[23] Cahill, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[24] *Ibid*, p. 127.

Ward found himself in trouble. The ranking British naval officer in the area, Vice-Admiral Sir James Hope, arrested Ward in May 1861, and charged him before the American consul; but he proved that he had acquired Chinese nationality and was acquitted.[25] Hope then arrested Ward again, and confined him under guard aboard the flagship *Chesapeake*, anchored in the Whangpoo. To the crimes of military failure and of compromising the "neutrality" record of Shanghai's foreign community, Admiral Hope added a charge more serious in his eyes, that of abetting enlisted seamen and marines to quit the Queen's navy.

His lieutenants and Macanaya knew there was not the slightest chance of trial or release for Ward. An officer of their unit visited Ward aboard the ship, took the "lay of the land," and synchronized his timepiece with Ward's. At two the next morning a sampan drifted down the murky river. The openings of the *Chesapeake's* cabins were the large square windows of the old men-of-war, not the small, round portholes of modern ships. Ward lay on his bunk that night with shirt and trousers on. As the first stroke of "four bells" signalled two a.m., he plunged through the window frame into the water. His Manilamen friends were there; they struck a light briefly, saw Ward swimming towards them, and helped him into the boat. A cry of "man overboard" broke from the warship's deck, but before its boats were lowered into the stream, the sampan had darted to the river bank opposite the French settlement. For a day Ward lay low there in a friend's house, and the next night was taken upriver to Sungkiang where he found his men still holding the fort.[26]

With this development, the unit's structure as a Foreign Legion was changed. By arrangement with Taki who still acted as paymaster for the force, Ward substituted for his ex-seamen a growing number of Chinese troops, drilled and officiated by a few foreigners. He retained, however, his faithful personal bodyguard of Manilamen.[27]

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[25] Morse, *Relations,* II, p. 71 adds, "The eivdence of nationality must have been cooked up, since naturalization of both Ward and Burgevine was sanctioned by imperial decree of March 17, 1862. At this time the Emperor awarded them the button of the fourth class, and Ward, the distinction of the peacock feather. Another decree, nine days later, gave them the honors of button of the third class." *North China Herald,* April 19, 1862. But Ward, earlier, became Yang Tze-tang's adopted son, and then married his daughter, Chang Mei. Thereby he gained a twofold title to be accepted as a Chinese citizen. Technically, then, he was no longer a "foreign meddler getting his home country mixed up in China civil strife — just when it became torn by a blazing civil war of its own."

[26] Cahill, *op. cit.,* p. 146.

When Ward first envisaged his battalion, he said it would have high morale if among other things, it were "sprucely uniformed." By the end of 1861, this is how his idea had developed.

"Ward's force then numbered but 1,500; the Chinese called them "Imitation Foreign Devils," because their quaint uniform was calculated to convey the impression that they were foreign troops. And that even their footprints might bluff the enemy, the Intendant Wu supplied the force with foreign boots. The uniform somewhat resembled that of the Zouaves and Sepoys,—a smart green turban for all ranks, jacket and knickerbocker of one color for each branch of the service: the bodyguard, dark blue; the artillery, light blue; the infantry, light green, with distinctive facings and shoulder straps, some red, others green, the artillery having also red stripes on the knickerbockers; and, for summer, white uniforms with red facing for all."[28]

So the Filipinos marched in dark blue, under green turbans! More comfortable and light of step, it seems, were the Ch'angmao (long hair) enemy, in blouses and loose trousers of orange and white, shod in cotton slippers or barefoot, marching wearily perhaps but somehow nimbly across China's good earth.[29]

January of 1862 saw Ward and the Manilamen begin their period of most intense action. One Taiping army, said to number 30,000 Chinese and 200 enlisted foreigners, appeared in the Wusung area on January 11, "burning towns along its way." Its progress was heralded by columns of Imperialist troops in headlong flight. On the 13th it camped a mile and a half north of the British Consulate in Shanghai. Many refugees poured into the city from the north.

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[27] Thus Morse, in *Relations*, p. 72. Other data: "The post at Sungkiang became the first military school in China where Chinese troops learned European methods of warfare. The nucleus of the army stayed in good shape. To his officers and drillmasters Ward gave commissions, and from the best Chinese soldiers he picked his non-commissioned officers. He recruited the Manilamen to their former strength of 200 men, and kept them as his bodyguard under the command of Vicente Macanaya." (Cahill, *op. cit.*, p. 148.)

[28] Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Shanghai*, p. 129.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

At the same time another force threatened Sungkiang, where the defenders were now praised by Admiral Hope and Shanghai editors as "a brave and disciplined regiment of able-bodied men trained by Ward in the European system of military tactics" (cf. *North China Herald,* Feb. 7, 1862). In 1861 the Taipings had regrouped large forces in Chekiang province, had taken Ningpo, and then the storied city of Hangchow. This was the capital city of China in the Sung and Yuan dynasties, and is singularly graced in its scenic setting and cultural traditions. The 1861 siege reduced it to such extremity. Montalto de Jesus reports, "that human flesh was sold for 160 cash a catty, until the people opened the south gate and capitulated while the Manchu troops blew up their own quarters and perished amid the ruins."[30]

It seems to have been a large column of these same Taipings, hungry in bitter wintry cold, which moved north from Hangchow to menace Sungkiang. "Some 200 Filipinos retreated to Shanghai and on arrival created a panic in the dead of night with the cry that the rebels were coming," writes the Shanghai historian.[31]

These were the most grim days of the war for Shanghai. Taiping troops were reported as deliberately trampling and burning the fields from which the city people got their food supply. Native industries were grinding to a halt. Where silk was cultivated, mulberry trees were cut down for fuel; in the cocoon season, one silk-center after another was destroyed. Marauding parties captured boats laden with silk on the way to Shanghai and exacted heavy ransom for them. Shanghai's exports of silks in 1862 fell by 14,000 bales. The tea-trade was at a standstill, too; traffic from the great Chekiang and Yangtse tea-centers was full of hazards.[32]

But, from Shanghai's viewpoint, things took an abrupt turn for the better.

Either the night-alarm by the Filipinos in Shanghai was inexactly reported or someone rallied and steadied them so that they returned and faced the Taipings. On January 15, Ward "with 1,000 of his disciplined Chinese troops and 200 Manilamen, supported by 2,000 of Li Ai-tang's Imperial braves went into action against the rebels in their stockade camps at Kuanfuling (20 miles west of Shanghai, 8 northeast of Sungkiang). With nine field pieces they shelled the stockades, and then Ward's Chinese contingent charged with fixed bayonets. They obeyed order without flinching, and charged with fine spirit, driving from 6,000 to 10,000 out of the camps and taking 800 prisoners.[33]

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[30] *Ibid.,* p. 116. Possibly this is more Shanghai hearsay than strict Hangchow history.

[31] *Ibid.,* p. 122.

[32] Montalto de Jesus, *op. cit.,* p. 123.

From accounts of this and other engagements, a trivial detail of Filipino interest emerges: "Ward's coolness under fire at Kuanfuling moved the British to admiration. He sauntered about the field, smoking a Manila cheroot, while the artillery pounded the stockades, and launching the bayonet charge he motioned his men forward with the rattan cane or stick which was the one weapon he carried in the battle."[34] The Manila cheroot and the cane of rattan appear on many pages of his biography.

From their Sungkiang base the troubleshooting unit was next bidden by the Viceroy to dislodge rebels from several strong positions in Pootung ("east of the Whangpoo," a fertile strip stretching to the Yellow Sea and the Yangtse estuary) from which Shanghai drew much of its pork, vegetables, fruit and other provisions. Admiral Hope, and his French counterpart, Admiral Protet, were actively intervening now. They solemnly decided that "the rebel incursions at Pootung were in too close proximity to be consistent with the respect due to the foreign forces at Shanghai."[35] As Ward could detach only 700 men, Hope supported him with 500 English sailors and 5 guns, Protet with 300 French seamen and 2 guns.[36]

On February 24, 1862, the combined force advanced on Kiaochow (Kajow) opposite Tsungming island. The rebel ram-pants were gay with a profusion of banners. Ward's force began driving the Taipings from their outpost, and with a ceaseless fire (briskly returned at first) they check the approach of a strong relief party. The French howitzers and British rocket guns poured shells into those stockade most thickly studded with banners. Then a bayonet charge drove the Taiping throng (about 5,000) down the mile-long causeway that led to the city. Panic-stricken, they were close-packed, and were slaughtered at close range. "Many prisoners were taken, and thousands of villagers in chains were set free, to the great joy of the people," Montalto de Jesus affirms.[37] But several hundred Taiping prisoners, handed over to Imperial custody, were executed the next day on the parade ground in Shanghai, and the retreating Taiping bands were so hounded against seashore and riverside that despairing they leaped into the water, and were drowned by wholesale . . . For days afterward the shore was strewn with corpses.[38] It was a victory no one could be proud of.

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[33] Cahill, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[35] Montalto de Jesus, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Shifting from neutrality to the offensive, Bruce, the British consul, wrote to Admiral Hope: "We can no more suffer Shanghai to be taken by famine or destroyed by insurrection, than we can allow it to be taken by assault . . ." Aggression can be made to look respectable with various beauty treatments.

[36] Morse, *Relations*, II, p. 73.

Seven of the mercenary unit were killed, and 30 wounded this day; their Anglo-French allies had one killed, and three wounded. The daring and morale of Ward's unit is apparent in a *North China Herald* news account: "They semed to know no fear, and in fact exposed themselves too much."[39] On March 1, the same force attacked another body of about 6,000 Taipings at Nankiao, and routed them. Holding this town, they controlled access to Pootung and assured Shanghai against assault from the east. Late in March, the Manilamen helped extricate the Imperial general, Li Ai-tang, from a trap of Szeking into which he had led his troops.

Other engagements in a summer scorching hot, and cholera-ridden at that, uncover no special feats by the Filipino contingent. Their healthiness, and endurance under the heat, are remarked upon. Twice the group was repulsed in battle, with losses, and forced to retreat.

On August 9, they were attacking Tsingpu. After a four-hour bombardment, three regiments stormed the walls. The first charge was a failure, because they could not cross the moat. "A company of Manilamen, who had been detailed to throw bridges over it, terrified by the hail of shot that fell on them, had fled and left the bridges in the ditch. But some of Ward's foreign officers went forward and laid the bridges. Artillery, with grape, shell and canister kept the rebels off the walls. The regiments swarmed through the breach which was cleared of rebels in five minutes. The city was speedily taken. A prize was offered to the first man to enter the breach. The prize was won by Vicente Macanaya, the daredevil leader of Ward's bodyguard.[40]

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[37] Montalto de Jesus, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[38] Cahill, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[39] In Morse, *Relations*, II, p. 74

Forrester, later recalling this action, wrote:

> At day-break, the artillery began a vigorous bombardment. Sartoli (an expert artillery officer trained under Garibaldi) directed the firing. The wall was 40 feet high, with 6-foot parapet on top of it for the use of cannon. The wall itself was faced with thick granite blocks, and not easy to raze. Sartoli trained the cannon balls so that they dug a circular groove out of the wall, and when this was about five feet deep, he fired percussion shells which blew out the central part. Then the storming party of about 1,000 men rushed forward. They were held up a while, till heavy bamboo ladders were lowered across the chasm to form a bridge. Then, under the protection of my sharpshooters, stationed in a tall four-story pagoda, they charged the breach, and, after some sanguinary hand-to-hand fighting, captured the city. Our loss in killed and wounded was 15 officers and 200 men.[41]

Macanaya earned his prize!

In early Autumn, the Viceroy, Li Hung-chang ordered Ward to assist an Anglo-French-Chinese force trying to expel a 20,000 strong army of Taipings from Yu-yao, opposite Ningpo on Hangchow bay. "Li's order reached Ward at sundown. He immediately called a parade of the Ever Victorious Army, and put it through its paces. Never had his men gone through their evolutions with such skill and precision as on that evening. Ward then took a thousand disciplined Chinese and his bodyguard of 200 Manilamen, and embarked for Ningpo."[42] The Filipino unit was present, and kept up to full strength, right to the time of Ward's death.

His men attacked Yu-yao September 19, 1862, in a drenching rain, but were driven back with notable loss while trying to carry a bridge. The next day they fought a six-hour battle, losing 8 officers and 150. The Taipings felt heavy loses, too, and that night marched through the hills to the village of Tze-ki, on a canal off the Ningpo river, about 15 miles from the city. Determined to press the rebels hard before they could organize for defense, Ward planned an attack against Tze-ki for the 21st. Ward and Forrester went out that morning to reconnoiter the position, and came within range of the snipers on the city wall. Little spurts of dust were kicked up around the pair where rifle bullets hit the ground. Suddenly, Ward put his hand to his stomach, turned to Forrester, and said: "I have been hit."

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[40] Cahill, *op. cit.*, p. 205

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 213

Ward sank to the ground, was carried back to a British ship, and before the next morning he died. Leaving the field he had urged his officers, "You must attack with a rush, or we shall fail. They are very numerous."[43] "The city was taken, Vicente Macanaya being first on the walls, and all the officers leading their men over the ladders," say the official British report from the scene.[44]

For a time Burgevine was leader of the foreign contingent, but before long the Englishmen, Captain Charles Gordon, took command of it. Even better than Ward, Gordon disciplined the unit to high morale and effectiveness. Its name as *The Ever Victorious Army*, however, was a public relations creation. Some sharp and costly defeats marred its record.

In sources locally available, I could find no further references to the Filipino contingent in the final twenty months of the bitterly fought war. Macanaya disappears from China history rightly portrayed as "first on the walls." He and his Manilamen compatriots cross the horizon of that history in meteoric fashion, entering unexpectedly, disappearing abruptly, but brilliant in the course between.

What became of them No doubt, the bones of many Filipinos mouldered with countless others in the steaming Yangtse delta; casualty lists were long, and life was cheap, on both sides of the fray. Ward inspired loyalty; it seems the Southerner, Burgevine, was not free of racial arrogance and looked down on men of any color.[45] The Filipinos had become a trusted and understandably proud bodyguard-corps for Ward; at his death they may have judged their loyalty was released. Pay was good, booty was high, but risks were higher. So the Filipinos may have terminated their service with the mercenaries. At the end of 1862, the Commander Tseng Kuo-fan wrote of Burgevine: "All his soldiers are still said to be foreign-devils, but in reality they are now Cantonese and Ningpo men."[46]

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[43] *Ibid.*, p. 218.
[44] In Morse, *Relations*, II, p. 79.

Viceroy Tseng seemed pleased enough to have French, British and American hirelings fight for his imperial interests, possibly thinking that they might embroil their governments to take the Peking side in China's struggle. But Tseng instructed underlings not to employ Indians, a term which might then have referred to the Philippine "Indies." Of this we have no positive evidence. In mid-1863 Burgevine defected to the Taiping army, "taking with him a contingent of over 100 foreigners. mostly seafaring men."[47] Under him, late in 1863, 200 to 300 foreigners were making shells and training a force of 20,000 Taiping recruits in Soochow.[48] This information affords material for speculation, or caution in statement, but it does not satisfy our curiosity about the later experience of the "Manilamen" in the Taiping war.

Their unit was not a hireling defense-corps paid as a *private* army by the Shanghai merchant association which Yang Tze-tang, the father-in-law of Ward, headed. Foreign writers used to represent this as the case, perhaps so that for political considerations they could deny that their nationals gave self-serving help to the decadent Manchu monarchy. The Taiping leader, Li Hsiu-cheng, wrote that the Viceroy of the region, TsengKuo-fan, "employed the foreign devils." A short, almost contemporary popular Chinese account of the military action in central Kiangsu, *Wu-chung P'ing Kuo Chi*, states that the acting provincial treasurer and Taotai, named Wu, engaged the mercenaries for the imperial government. Both the Viceroy and his general, Li-Hung-chang, were abreast of all stages of the unit's formation and operation, as their correspondence proves. Funds to maintain the group came from the official Shanghai customs revenue, though in a roundabout way. Probably, for fear of foreign complications, the merchants' group, not openly connected with officialdom, fronted for the Imperial government in dealing with this 'foreign legion.'

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[45] Cahill, *op. cit.*, 225. "He seemed to think that the cinnamon-colored men were entitled to only a shade more respect than those of ebony hue."

[46] W. J. Hail, *Tseng Kuo-fan and the Taiping Rebellion* (Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1927), p. 204.

[47] Cahill, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Morse, *Relations*, II, p. 87.

[48] Hail, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

There was a time when foreign and some Chinese accounts. originating in semi-colonial Shanghai, attributed to the Ever Victorious Army of Ward and the glamorous Gordon, the decisive role in defeat of the Taiping rebels. If this judgment were true, the Manilamen who fought bravely, albeit in behalf of imperialism twice compounded, changed the history of the Far East for at least half a century. Their help made the difference when this unit turned toward such success as it own.

But the Chinese would describe such an historical judgment as the view of a *ching ti wa,* a frog at the bottom of a well, measuring the whole heavens by the little of the sky he can see. The military defeat of the Taipings was very largely achieved by the imperial and provincial Chinese troops which fought loyally for the old order through 14 years, and particularly by Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang. The Ever Victorious Army entered the struggle quite late, played only a supporting role, and did so within a limited 35-mile ring around Shanghai. Its effort may have hastened the end of the war. But the outcome was really settled by the exhausting battles for the upper Yangtse area, by an overkill in its own regions of supply, by the inadequacy of the Taiping ideology, and the disintegration of its civil administration. The war ended with the fall of the Nanking capital on July 19, 1864, well after the last lines in the record of the Filipino fighting force were completed.

Manila and the Realities of Politics*

Antonio J. Villegas

I WAS INTENTLY LISTENING to Professor Fabella while talking of Filipino time: that Filipino time is fifteen minutes ahead of time; that when somebody comes late, he is following Spanish time. Well, for the information of the Philippine Historical Association, Manila has made it a rule that Filipino time is exact time; that's why I circularized all the schools in Manila, saying *"Oras ng Pilipino ay tumpak na oras, sundin nating lahat katulad ng batas."*

I am thankful to Mrs. Nakpil for saying that I am a serious student of history. I would say that, possibly, I am changing somewhat the history of this city, because I am trying to study, with a view to changing certain notions, certain concepts and certain impressions in history. I have said once that we should try to reexamine certain practices, certain habits and certain set ideas. We should not live necessarily in the traditions of the past. Rather, we should see to it that we live not only with the demands of the future, but by the eternal principles in life and in history; above all, with an eye towards transcending the past. For only by transcending the past shall we be able to progress and excel and reach that goal of perfection which is the goal set for us when the Lord said in His sermon on the Mount, "Be ye perfect as the Father in heaven is perfect."

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* Address delivered at the Annual Convention of the Philippine Historical Association held at the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila on 6 December 1970.

I thank you for holding your 15th Annual Convention on the theme "Manila Through the Centuries." I do hope I shall receive a copy of all the papers read, so that I may read them, not necessarily to disagree with you, but to know whereof, to some of the things I have come to learn, I may be able to add.

I have been concerned about Manila because this is my city as well as your city. This is where I was born. This is where I have studied. This is where I work. This is where I met my wife, where I got married, and where all my children have been born. As a matter of fact, as I have said before, this is my only place under the sun.

Another reason why I am interested in the history of Manila is that I hold on to the opinion that one can only become glorious if one has a past, and when one knows his past, as saints have their past and sinners have their future. So, I want to know the past of this city and the past of the people in it.

I must confess that it pains me to observe that today our books on history have been mostly written by foreign authors, although sometimes by Filipinos who, however, only based their works on, or simply reproduced from, their writings. They just parroted what they have said, and we have never dared question what they have said, nor tested, as an inquiring student should really test, the validity, if not the veracity, of their statements. It is because of this that I have requested Mrs. Nakpil to kindly head a group that would publish the history of Manila for the past 400 years. If we could have such a history, which will practically be the history of this country, then I would say, this history book shall be a "must" reading in all the schools in Manila. It is too bad that people graduate from the public schools and from the private schools, without knowing the history of the place where they have studied and where they have lived.

I am also glad to hear that the Reverend Conrad Myrick is publishing a book on Manila. We encourage him to publish his book, as we are encouraging others to gather all the maps, as our good friend, the late Carlos V. Francisco, as his last work of art artifacts about this city. I have also been able to request our good friend, the late Carlos V. Francisco, as his last work of art and as a monument of his genius, to make that mural now in my office on the history of Manila for 400 years.

I take pride in the fact that it is my rare distinction and privilege to be the mayor of this city on its fourth centennial which will be celebrated next year. I said it is my rare distinction because I happen to be the first Filipino mayor at its centenary ever to be celebrated as a capital Christian community.

I am happy that at the fourth centenary of Manila, the mayor is a son of Manila, my predecessors having been mostly not from Manila. Mayor Lacson was born in Negros Occidental. Mayor Posadas, who built City Hall, was from Zambales. Mayor Rodriguez was from Montalban, Rizal. Mayor Nolasco came from Bulacan. Mayor de la Fuente actually came from Batangas. Of course, there is only one other from Manila, Mayor Fugoso. But I would say that had my opponents won, possibly it would not have been a son of Manila as mayor at its fourth centennial. Perhaps God willed that it should be a native son at its fourth centennial, so that when the history of the City is written, it can be said that its mayor was really from Manila.

As a son of Manila I was born to parents who belong to two regions in this country: Ilocos and Pangasinan, on my father's side and Pampanga and Cabiao, Nueva Ecija, on my mother's side. So I say, whenever asked about my parents: "*Ang ina ko'y Kapampangan, ang ama ko'y Ilokano, kaya po nang lumaki'y isang tunay na Pilipino.*"

My wife, your first lady in Manila today, and your only lady insofar as the mayor is concerned, was also born to parents, one from Bulacan on her father's side, and one from Iloilo on her mother's side; she once reigned as queen, not in Manila, but in Davao, Mindanao. So really, she represented Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. Between us two, we represent the Philippines, from north to south.

I say this because there is one thing I wish you to know. The Filipino nation was born in the city of Manila. Until today, I take pride in the fact that it is only Manila that can truly be called an enlightened Filipino community. Not that I depreciate the provinces, but that we have to recognize and accept this fact. That if you are a Tagalog, going to Ilocandia, you would feel yourself a stranger there. If you are an Ilocano going to Pampanga, you would be a stranger in Pampanga. A Tagalog from Bulacan going to Batangas would feel also a stranger in Batangas, although Batangas and Bulacan are both Tagalog provinces. As a Batangueño going to Bulacan would be a stranger in Bulacan, so would a Bicolano going to Iloilo, an Ilonggo going to Cebu, a Cebuano going to Samar, a Waray going to Mindanao, and a Muslim going to Romblon. They are strangers in those places. This is such as we do know, whether you are an Ilocano, an Ibanag, a Pangasinense, a Pampango, a Bulakeño, a Batangueño, a Bikolano, an Ilonggo, a Cebuano, or a Waray, a Muslim, a Tausog, whatever you are; not so if you come to Manila, for in Manila you are not a stranger. For this is your city. This is the Filipino city where no one is a stranger.

Not only that, you must have noticed that all the leaders, and all the heroes of this land have come to Manila and have been made known in Manila. This is why even our good friend Gemma, residing in San Juan, became a Miss International, when she became Miss Philippines of Boy's Town, Manila.

This is also why Rizal became known in Manila. So was Mabini and everybody. This is also the reason why we have a Republic of the Philippines which was proclaimed by Emilio Aguinaldo at Kawit, Cavite, because of the Katipunan that was born in Manila, under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio. So while others claim that the independence of the Philippines and of this Republic was born at Kawit, I wish to say that that independence declared at Kawit was conceived in Manila.

Even so, you will notice that all protest movements started in Manila. The first strike in Manila, according to my knowledge of history, was the one during the time of an archbishop. All the religious orders in Manila, refusing to have their accounts examined while holding their parishes, went on a strike against that archbishop.

You will notice also that the unification movement in this archipelago started here. Even the three priests, Gomez, Burgos and Zamora, became heroes in Manila. Even Rizal's *La Liga Fi-*

lipina was organized in Manila. Even Masonry was introduced in Manila. This is the importance of Manila in history. What Manila is to the nation, the nation is to Manila. In fact, outside of the Philippines, foreigners identify us best if we say we are from Manila. If we say we are from the Philippines, we would be taken as coming from one of the Hawaii Islands. Why is this so? This is so, because of the central location of Manila.

I appreciate your efforts in studying the history of our country and the history of our city. In this respect, I challenge the Philippine Historical Association to kindly go with the times. Aside from writing monographs or papers for lectures in conventions like this, I suggest that it kindly place them in comic form, so that in comic form, the masses will read what you have written. In this form, the people would best understand this city and its history.

It is said that the present is nothing more than the extension of the past, and the future, nothing more than a projection of the present. It is for this reason that, aware as we are of our place and goal in history, for you and I are making history, I suggest the writing of a history of Manila today. One hundred years from today, they will be writing about us. Let us live for the people in Manila 100 years hence by leaving the records by which they will know us. So, I request the Philippine Historical Association to kindly give to *Kamaynilaan*, Manila's Museum and Library, a set of all the publications of the association, so that *Kamaynilaan* may keep them forever until the next century and remember the Philippine Historical Association for it.

In this connection, I have also requested each and every association in Manila, and this I am requesting of you now, to kindly prepare an album with the pictures of all its officers and members and a history of that association, such as: How it started? What are its ideals and objectives? What had been it main activities? What had it accomplished? Please present them to me in an album form to be given to Kamaynilaan, so that we would have a section there on all the associations in Manila as of 1971. I have requested this from the Rotary Club, the Lions' Club, the Kiwanis Club, even the Iglesia ni Cristo, and even all the churches. I am requesting this from all groups in Manila.

I am doing this also for all student and youth groups now active in this city. We are doing this because we want to record Manila of 1971. More than record Manila of 1971, later on, after having them all together, possibly, we the politicians in City Hall will have to sit down among ourselves after reading them and say, based on what we have seen and read, that these are the things we have to do, the changes we have to make. From you, we learn what to do also.

You will recall, my friends, that earlier this afternoon, we heard about the *bombas*. This is a part of the history of Manila. You may ask me, why with the coming of the Holy Father, I issued that edict that there will be no more *bombas* in Manila? Is it because I want to deny people to know the totality of reality? Or the totality of life? No, but it is that I believe in certain things. Enough is enough. I did not immediately stop them because I wanted to know the people's reactions and their effects. However, I feel that while we want to project the things that compose the total life, we should only project the best and submerge the worst. Also, I wanted to project the best in the people of this city, to project the best among the actors and actresses. I wanted also to project the virtue of the Filipino woman. To my mind, some people are impairing the prestige and integrity of Filipino womanhood. I told one columnist earlier, "Your views may differ from mine. I respect your opinions, but please while I am the mayor of Manila, accept my views."

To illustrate this further, on the 30th of December, 1963, on the death day of Dr. Jose Rizal—and when you commemorate one's death anniversary, you only pray, you do not engage in festivities—I stopped the scheduled parade. On his birthday yes, you can have a birthday party, but not on his death day. Besides, that parade was a parade of politicians at the Quirino grandstand and not actually a parade in honor of Dr. Rizal whose monument is even bypassed by said parade. At that time, my good friend Doroy Valencia was against me. Well, I took it in cheer. I said that perhaps later on somebody will adopt my stand. True it was. In 1966, President Marcos ordered that there would be no parade on December 30, and my good friend Doroy Valencia applauded him. I have the news item in this regard. I did not proclaim I was for it. Instead I looked back to December 30, 1963.

I simply kept quiet and felt happy that at least later on someone followed what I started. So today, we have no more parades on the 30th December.

I wish you to know that today I am preparing a bill which I will present to the four Manila congressmen next February, which we shall first give before a select group at the end of 100 days since I pledged my political autonomy. This is a bill in which I would seek the revision of the charter of the City of Manila, because I have discovered that if we keep on administering the public affairs in the city by the present government structure, we shall not progress, we shall not be keeping up with the times. Why do I say this? Today, there has been too much politics in Manila. Today, we spend too much. You spend too much for the politicians at Maharnilad.

Before I discuss the present, let me go back to 1571. In 1571, according to a photostat of a record I got through the courtesies of the Spanish embassy, being the record of the proceedings of the first Municipal Board of Manila on June 24, 1571, we had at that time, the *Capitan General,* the Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. He appointed then two *alcaldes en ordinarios,* an *alguacil mayor* and twelve *regidores.* The *regidores* later on, by virtue of the Maura Law of 1893 became known as *consejales.* With these *consejales,* we also had the *tenientes alcaldes* in the various districts of Manila, who were the deputy mayors. This I saw in *Manililia,* a copy of which I saw in the library of the University of Santo Tomas.

Later on, we had the Charter of Manila, Act 183, approved in 1901, after a law was passed creating the province of Rizal out of the territory of the City of Manila, because there was no province of Rizal during the Spanish time. With this, we began to have a 3-man commission, headed then by the first Filipino mayor, Arsenio Cruz Herrera, with two American commissioners.

Incidentally, I discovered one thing. The first appointed Filipino mayor of Manila is better known as Arsenio Cruz Herrera. We even have a street A. C. Herrera, but in my studies of the first Filipino appointed mayor of Manila, I discovered that if we should write his name as we write our names today, it should be written as Arsenio Herrera Cruz, because Herrera is the family name of his mother as Cruz is the family name of his father. The correct form then is Arsenio Cruz Herrera with a hyphen between Cruz and Herrera to indicate the Spanish "y Herrera." When I discovered this, in reading his biography, I said to myself that the first appointed mayor of Manila was named Arsenio H. Cruz, and the first elected mayor of Manila was named Arsenio H. Lacson. They were both Arsenios and both have "H" as initial.

Mayor Arsenio H. Cruz served for only a short time. He was succeded by Mayor Felix Roxas. who served the longest among all the appointed mayors since 1901. I am the second to serve as an elective mayor. I do not know whether I will also serve the longest among the elective mayors. I say this only in jest, if only to show you that we try to make the past relevant to the present.

With the 3-man board we had then, a mayor with two members, Manila progressed. Manila started the Metropolitan Water District. Incidentally, I am making a research into all the properties of NAWASA with a view to taking over the water distribution system. I discovered from my studies of the administration of Mayor Felix Roxas and Mayor Arsenio H. Cruz, that it was Manila that financed the construction of the reservoir and all these aqueducts we see. In fact I asked NAWASA if they have a Torrens title to all those lands in San Juan. They do not have, so I am looking for the Torrens title of Manila.

In like manner, my friends, this much I can tell you. In my effort to recover the properties of Manila. I saw the Torrens title of Manila to that property now occupied by the Bilibid Prisons, because that was part of Manila before and was owned by the City. However, in the time of President Quezon, he said that he will remove Bilibid from what is now known as the Bilibid compound and transfer it to Muntinglupa. I understand. according to press reports at that time. that there was supposed to be a promise that the title to the Bilibid compound would be given to the City of Manila in exchange for a contract ceding the Torrens title of the Bilibid compound to the City of Manila. This is what I am also studying, whether I can get the title of the Bilibid compound and develop the place. I want to convert that place into a park because there is no park in the second congressional district of Manila.

Likewise, I discovered, while studying the various institutions in Manila, that the Ateneo de Manila University started as Escuela Pia, established and financed by the City of Manila. When later on the Jesuit fathers were able to return to the Philippines, after they have been expelled from the country, they were asked to run the Escuela Municipal. At that time, it was purely a primary school. When they started giving higher courses like high school, they changed the name to Ateneo de Manila. So when Dr. Rizal studied in the Ateneo de Manila, Ateneo de Manila was what the Pamantasan ng Maynila is today to the City of Manila. It was owned and subsidized by the City of Manila.

Reading books on the history of Ateneo de Manila, I also discovered that the first Filipino chief justice, Don Cayetano Arellano donated to the Ateneo de Manila for its chapel a certain organ in 1898. This organ, which was given to the chapel of the institution was later on sold to the bishop of Guam in 1934 during the Eucharistic Congress. I am therefore trying to trace that organ to bring it back.

When the Americans came and ordered that there shall be a separation of church and state, the Ateneo de Manila ceased to be an institution of the City of Manila. But I still do not understand why the Jesuit fathers claim ownership of the lands and buildings in Manila for the Ateneo de Manila. Remember that the entire Intramuros was owned by the City of Manila and yet the Jesuit Order appropriated the property, perhaps with the consent of the American authorities then. I would say Manila lost its property because of American intervention or neglect of duty.

So we have our public schools, but during that time when we had a 3-man commission, a mayor with two appointed members, there was no trouble at City Hall. There was progress and peace in the city.

Later on, we claimed municipal autonomy. We wanted an election. So some councilors got elected while the mayor was appointed. Incidentally, when mayors were appointed, there was no vice mayor. That is why there was peace between the mayor and the board. I would say this that there was peace at City Hall because there was no number two.

You may want to know when did the number two start? It started only in 1949 when the Revised Charter of Manila was enacted, providing for an appointive mayor, an appointive vice mayor and elective councilors. Who were the first appointed mayor and vice mayor under the Revised Charter of Manila? Mayor Manuel de la Fuente and Vice Mayor Cesar Miraflor. After they were appointed, according to newspaper accounts, a few months later, they quarreled. It is only natural that the vice mayor wants to become mayor, for promotion is the natural ambition of every man. He does not only pray, sitting on his chair, for the mayor to fail, but he actually exert efforts to make the mayor fail. On the other hand, even the mayor want to succeed, as an obligation to the city, as an obligation to himself.

What happened later? We then began to have an elective mayor and an elective vice mayor along with elective councilors. This time the councilors increased from 8 to 12, with 3 councilors elected for every congressional district. We elected in 1951, 12 councilors, 3 from every district, with the mayor and vice mayor. Mayor Lacson and Vice Mayor Gatmaitan came from the same political party, but after one year, they quarreled. So Mayor Lacson wanted to change the vice mayor. He wanted his secretary as vice mayor, then Secretary Jesus Marcos Roces. As you know well in 1955, Mayor Lacson was reelected with Jesus Marcos Roces as vice mayor with the 12 councilors, 3 from each of the congressional districts.

With their elections, we thought there will be peace at City Hall. But soon they were not in the best of terms. They opposed each other in 1959. Earlier, Mayor Lacson said that I should have a say in the Board, so he would make the vice mayor do something unlike Vice Mayor Gatmaitan. He made me presiding officer of the Municipal Board to have a better understanding and better harmony between the Municipal Board and Mayor Lacson.

What happened when the vice mayor became the presiding officer of the Municipal Board? The vice mayor started by saying that as head of the Board, he shall maintain the independence of the legislative as against the executive. He forgot that he was still the vice mayor of the mayor, subordinate to the mayor. So came about the quarrel between the so-called executive and legislative because of the claim of legislative independence by the councilors and the vice mayor.

In 1959, as you know well, I ran for mayor. I ran, incidentally, because of *amor propio.* I never intended to be in politics. It was my good friends, former Senator Manahan and former Senator Manglapus who asked me to run as vice mayor for the Progressive Party of the Philippines. I was asked because I was one of the founders of the PPP and its secretary-general in 1957. I told them I did not like to run. They said, I had to run, and make a sacrifice, for we cannot fight professional politicians and carry out the ideals of the late President Ramon Magsaysay and our concept of reforms in public service unless I entered politics. I asked whom they will support for mayor? They told me, Mayor Lacson, because after all he was unbeatable. Not only that Mayor Lacson used to work for Manny Manahan, I think, in Manny Manahan's newspaper. I also think the three of them were together in the underground movement during the war.

One fateful evening, I met Mayor Lacson for the first time. When my good friends Raul Manglapuz and Manny Manahan told Mayor Lacson that they will support him if he did not fight their candidate for vice mayor, and they will have no candidate for mayor, he asked them who will be their candidate for vice mayor. At that time, I was not even decided to run, and my wife was against my running. When they said that they were thinking of me and I was introduced to him, Mayor Lacson in his characteristic fashion asked me from where I am. "Manila, Sir." "Where did you grow up?" "In Tondo, Sir." "Well, you are totally unknown. You may better run as councilor of Tondo, you may not even win. Meanwhile, he told Manny Manahan and Raul Manglapuz, that he wanted Justo Albert as his running mate. That did it.

When I went home, I told my wife my mind was made up. I will run for vice mayor. This time all my friends in the PPP started telling me not to run for vice mayor. I said, "You were the ones who were asking me to run. Now that I want to run, you say don't run." They said, "No because Mayor Lacson does not ike you." I said, "Am I running because of Mayor Lacson or am I running because of the ideals we want to introduce in the public service? I thought our party is a principled party, an idealistic party." So we carried on debating on this. While we were debating, there was that coalition between the LP and the PPP. Later on, that coalition was dissolved; the LP went on.

Then by stroke of fate, I met later Vice President Macapagal at Macabebe. When he learned I am half Pampango, he said, "Why don't you join the Liberal Party?" I said, "Why?" He said, "I understand you are being mentioned as an aspirant for vice mayor, you may have a chance here." So I said, "I will consider it."

I then went back to the PPP and asked what its ultimate decision was. They said, "The decision if final. We will support Albert for vice mayor." So I said, "In such a case, I will still run." Manny Manahan said, "You have no money, how can you win and Mayor Lacson is against you, and he is unbeatable at that time." I did run anyway.

What did I do? I joined the Liberal Party. When I joined the Liberal Party, they have chosen their candidate for mayor, then Congressman Salvador Mariño, as well as all the candidate for councilors. So I asked Vice President Macapagal how would the vice mayor be chosen. He said, "I think the mayoralty candidate will have a hand in his choice." So I talked to the then mayoralty standard bearer of the Liberal Party, Salvador Mariño, and said, "Will you be choosing the vice mayoralty candidate? He was the president of the Liberal Party in Manila then, so he said, "Possibly, I think I will have a say." Then he asked me, "Do you have enough bullets for this election?" That was my first baptism in politics. You don't go to war without bullets. I said, "How much is needed?" And he said, "We will need campaign expenses, do you have enough?" I said, "I have enough for my family, but that enough for my family will be for my family to insure the future and education of my children." I said, "I will offer myself in public service but I will not offer my family in sacrifice." He said, "How will you win?" I said, "There are many ways." Then he said, "There will be a convention of the Liberal Party on August 28, 1959." Then I asked, "Who will vote on that convention?" He said, "We will give you a list when you have paid the convention quota." "How much is the convention quota?" It was then cheap, one thousand pesos. That convention quota was supposed to pay for the meals of the delegates during the convention.

My good friend Atty. Abelardo Subido was the leading aspirant in that convention, because he had been campaigning since January of that year. There was the two other Liberals. So, we were four in that convention. With us four, we have a meeting. I paid my quota. I got the list. That was four days before the convention. My good friend, now Commissioner Subido said, "Do you know the ward leaders and delegates?" I said, "Not yet." He said, "These are the leaders from Sampaloc. I took them here to take lunch with me. So he introduced me to them. Afterwards, he said, "*Alam mo Panyero, bahala na kung ano ang mangyari dito. Basta tayo ay hindi magkalaban. Paramihan lang ng boto.*" He was cocky he would win, because he was supported by Congressman Bagatsing and then Councilor Eduardo Quintos. As for Mr. Baluyot, the other aspirant, he was supported by Congressman Mariño and his faction and I had nobody to support me.

What did I do? I prayed to God and I said, "Lord, if thou willest that I serve my city, give me this opportunity but if thou willest that I don't, let me lose in the convention if I will not win in the election." My wife did pray also. This much I want you to know, because you will write the history of Manila and it is seldom that I could tell you the history of this city when the controversial mayor stepped into City Hall. I did campaign three days and three nights before the convention, without sleep, using the list given to me.

Earlier, from that restaurant on top of the Avenue Theater where we were eating, Commissioner Subido and I went down. I said, "Where are you going?" He said, "I'm going back to my office." I said, "Goodbye, I am going elsewhere." After he left, I went back to the place and talked to the leaders he introduced to me. I talked to them and they said, "*Hindi ba atrasado na kayo, dahil alam ninyo* committed *na kami? Sabi ko, "Nakaboto na ba kayo? Sabi sa akin, "Hindi pa." "Hindi pa ako atrasado," sabi ko. Kung 'yong babaeng mag-aasawa e nagbabago pa ang isip, iba ang napapangasawa, e kayo naman e hindi pa nag-aasáwá. Káya maaari pa siguro, mag-usap lang tayo.*" So we chatted. This will explain to you why there is that constant, incessant controversy between Commissioner Subido and myself.

I chatted with those leaders and I was able to convince the leaders, using the knowledge I have learned not only in history but in other sciences. After that, those same leaders introduced me to then Councilor Eduardo Quintos. Knowing that Eduardo Quintos used to be the Chief of Police of Manila, I reminded him that my father was a Manila policeman along with him in the same force. I said, "Don't you take pride that a son of a Manila policeman shall became vice mayor of Manila? If only for the sake of my father, will you kindly help me?" Also, knowing as I do that he was from Pangasinan and my father is an Ilocano Pangasinan, using the prejudice of a region, I appealed to him. So be it, Councilor Quintos supported me three days before the convention.

Then the convention came. My good friend Subido arrived at the convention hall with blaring sirens of motorcycle cops furnished by Mayor Pablo Cuneta. He felt so sure of winning. Then also, my good friend Mr. Baluyot came, also sure that he was going to win, backed up as he was by the other powers in the party. And I was a total unknown within the party. Besides, I did not have time to talk to all the leaders and delegates of the party.

What did I do? Using my knowledge in Mathematics because anyway I got 100% in Arithmetic on my card when I was a student, I said to myself that I will compute how much is needed to win. So I worked on percentages.

I noticed that they were giving envelopes. I had no envelopes. It was my baptism in political conventions. But having been a guerrilla intelligence officer during the war — I was a sergeant —and knowing sabotage, I did one thing. I took hold of the distributors who were in possession of the envelops. The envelopes of both Mr. Subido and Mr. Baluyot were intended for all the delegates. Knowing the saying "Thou shalt not take what is not given unto thee", I did not take what was not mine. But let us suppose that delegate A had two envelopes from Mr. Subido and Mr. Baluyot. I got hold of the two envelopes. Where the delegate was strongly for Mr. Subido I decreased Mr. Subido's envelope by certain amount and placed it in the envelop from Mr. Baluyot. In this way, the delegate with less strength got more than the delegate with the most strength. On opening the envelopes in the comfort room of the convention hall, and seeing the money, they got angry. Why was one treated so shabbily? He was given so little when he had more influence than the other leader. Angered, they refused to vote for the other candidate because they were the big factions contending in the convention, and some of them did vote for me. I won that convention by two votes. As you very well know, later on I won as vice mayor with more votes than Mayor Lacson.

You will understand why, as soon as I won, I issued the statement that I will not be hostile, but neither will I be docile. I said that I was not the vice mayor of Mayor Lacson; I was the vice mayor of the city mayor of Manila, because I was elected in spite of Mayor Lacson.

This will explain the first session of the Municipal Board the following year. Mayor Lacson wanted to have his oath taking at the first session of the Municipal Board before he delivered his state of the city address. He had the movie camera prepared for the occasion. I think he was preparing for the Philippine presidency then. He had Justice Sabino Padilla to administer his oath. They prepared an agenda for the session. Knowing that I was the vice mayor, they ignored me. They said that since the Nacionalistas were in the majority — there were eleven then for the Lacson faction in the Nacionalista and nine Liberals including myself — they prepared an agenda by ignoring me. I said it cannot be since the first session was an act of the Board. In the absence of a majority floor leader until it is organized, the vice mayor shall prepare the agenda. I prepared the agenda. It was the first change in the parliamentary history in the city to take place.

Then holding the gavel as vice mayor and presiding officer of the Board, I banged it and announced the business of the day. Then as a Nacionalista and Councilor Quintos stood up, I said that the gentlemen please sit down as I was not recognizing anybody. Councilor Rivera also stood up asking to be recognized. I also asked him to sit down. I knew that the moment I recognize him he will make a motion to make Mayor Lacson take his oath before the Board and he would be seconded, and his motion would be voted upon, and they will win with the motion. So using my little knowledge of parliamentary procedure — I was in FEU and Dean Tongco was my professor in Political Science — I recognized nobody. Because they were piqued — I was treating the councilors like students in a classroom, telling them to sit down — the majority walked out. After the majority had walked out leaving the minority, we continued with a little ceremony, after which I adjourned the session for lack of quorum.

After I adjourned the session, Mayor Lacson went back with his Nacionalista councilors to the session hall to reconvene the session. But I considered their meeting as a mere caucus of the Nacionalista Party. Mayor Lacson took his oath but there never was a state of the city address that year by him.

This also explains why everytime Mayor Lacson went out of the city, I took over because I wanted to show him that he should not belittle a man no matter what be his beginnings. I also believed in the Pilipino saying: *"Talangka man kung turingan, alimango rin kung gumapang."*

Later on after one year, to be exact on April 15, 1961, Mayor Lacson, a Capricornian born December 26, meeting another Capricornian, born January 9th — we were both born under the Zodiac sign of a goat with two horns — said, "Let us get together." So we arranged to meet together in the Swiss Inn. While taking breakfast, he said "Vice Mayor, you know there are things we have to do." I said, "I understand. We have to help each other discharge our functions." He said, "Why don't you tell me what you want and I will tell you what I want." I said, "I understand what you want, Mr. Mayor, I am ready to help. Only that, "I am ready to help consistant with dignity and honor because I am defending the dignity not of myself but of my office. We can easily understand each other and because of this whenever you leave, I will take over. I will not rock the boat because this is your administration. Whatever you want me to do I will do."

You will recall that before that, he kidded me. Since I wanted to play janitor, he said, I could be in charge of City Hall from 4 a.m. to 7 a.m. because he would be out of Manila. He would be at Wack Wack playing golf. I told him that I would be willing to act as mayor from 4 a.m. to 7 a.m. and be in-charge of all the janitors cleaning City Hall, while he was playing golf with his Chinese millionnaire friends at Wack Wack. From this he found out that here was a young man who could dish out, perhaps not in the ridicule for which he was known, but in a manner also firm though polite. Shortly after getting together on April 15, 1961, he gave me a car.

Now I would say it was providential that I did not run with Mayor Lacson. Had I ran with him, the people would say I became vice mayor because of Mayor Lacson, not because of the people. It was providential that Mayor Lacson and I quarrelled because it served as a training for me, a young man — I was 31 — as vice mayor of Manila. It was a training on how to stand on one's ground.

After that, Mayor Lacson and I were in good terms. You will recall Mayor Lacson campaigned for Vice President Macapagal for the Presidency in 1961. We were together in that campaign. All these things gave me training in administration, although I had some training previously at the Presidential Complaints and Action Committee while I was with the late President Ramon Magsaysay. Exactly one year thereafter, on April 15, 1962, Mayor Lacson died. I made a poem for him and I announced then my views under what was known as "Crusade Forward." Then I announced "All government and no politics."

But then I discovered that politicians will never leave the mayor alone. All politicians who want to be mayor will always try to destroy and sabotage the administration of the mayor. That is true in the case of the members of the Municipal Board. They will always do that because it is easy for a congressman in a district to tell the councilor of his district, "If you play with me and sabotage the mayor, I will finance your election campaign in this district." These are the realities of politics.

I went on 1962 and 1963. Thanks to the help of civic-minded friends, including our good friend Mr. Angel Nakpil and Mrs. Nakpil and all the rest from the university group, we succeeded a little. With such little success as I had, what happened in 1962? I had my own vice mayor coming from my own party. At first we were in good terms. Later on, wanting to be mayor, he started sabotaging me. So we had the quarrel, Villegas vs. Astorga. Not only that. We had the quarrel between the board and the mayor. So in 1965, we had the garbage crisis for which I was blamed and not the Board which refused to appropriate money for garbage trucks unless I provided funds for what they called representation expenses of the councilors.

During the height of the garbage crisis, all newspapers said I must learn how to give and take. Politics is a compromise. So I gave those allowances. Not contented with ₱500.00 a month, they asked for ₱1,000.00 a month, then going up to ₱2,000.00 a month.

Of course, when they gave themselves allowances, they had to give also the vice mayor and the mayor. Now you will ask me, "Mr. Mayor what did you do with your allowances?" The records will show that I never collected my allowances. I used my allowances for public improvements. I used my allowance for that history of Manila in mural by Carlos V. Francisco at Bulwagang Katipunan. I used the same allowance in beautifying Plaza Ferguson and, later on in subsidizing my committees, the committees that helped me out.

1967 came. You will recall that we had a massive road-building program in Manila. I had to compromise. The compromise I had to make was to give allowances. That was the time when it became ₱2,000.00 a month, ₱24,000.00 per annum; at times twenty councilors plus the Vice Mayor's, that is more than half a million pesos.

With these allowances, they also asked for patronage. They wanted an increase in pay and an increase in personnel. So I had to make a decision again. In exchange for all the appropriations of all the schools for which we had spent millions and for all the streets in Manila, what could I do? I said to myself that I love the children more. So for the sake of the children, I compromised. After all, the press told me to compromise.

Remember the case of the two Yeba fireboats? I was only asking ₱100,000.00 to bring them from Japan to Manila because they were being given free to Manila through the Reparations Commission. The Board refused to appropriate the money. So

I solicited contributions. Now the two fireboats have been a great help in putting out fires.

With the compromises I made, I thought perhaps what was needed was to have my own councilors in the Board. With the change of councilors, I introduced young men in the Board. Councilors as I had helped to become as such include Councilor Lorenzo and Councilor Lucero who are totally unknown. Even Councilor Mel Lopez, I helped him out. What happened? After they have won, the first thing they asked was allowances, because they had spent too much in the election.

With these, my friends, I will tell you — you who are historians and you will write the history of the city — that in carrying on, I have realized how much I can bear this system in our social structure. So I thought that possibly what is needed is for me to be the president of the Liberal Party in Manila because I was a simple member then. So I became the president of the Liberal Party in Manila. But that did not change the situation.

So I thought it would be better if I join the national hierarchy of the party. Later I became a member of the national hierarchy of the Liberal Party. But that did not change the situation either. Instead some people in the hierarchy would even ask me why I did not fix up with the councilors, learn how to give and take. I will not name names. I think this is the way in politics.

All the time, I looked for support, for non-partisanship in the public service. I looked for support in the city on what could be done. What did I do? I organized the Police Community Relations Organization so that I could have contact with every neighborhood and explain in every neighborhood what was going on in the city.

I must be frank. Newspaper accounts, some of them, are false and are unreliable for purposes of writing the history of the city. Later on, when I shall have retired, I will write the facts in answer to the newspaper accounts. While yet in politics I cannot do that without incurring the ire of these newspapers.

This is so because I am a Liberal. As you know well, the *Manila Daily Bulletin* is under Hans Menzi, the former aide-de-camp of President Marcos. The *Manila Chronicle* is with Mr.

Lopez. While they are good friends of mine, I opposed the MERALCO rate increases. I am the only one on record among the politicians who opposed the MERALCO rate increases. There was a time when Roces wanted to be a mayor. So understandably, the *Manila Times* is against me.

The Chinese did not like me for removing all the Chinese characters on their signboards. Later on the American firms did not like me for my stand on the retail trade nationalization. They were also against me for removing all the coca cola and pepsi cola signs. They did not love me for it. So for all these things I have done, they all went against me. Thus whatever news you read in the papers do not reflect the positive constructive achievements of my administration. This is another reason why I want a history of this city written not based on hearsay information. I am telling the Philippine Historical Association about it lest you you be guided by newspaper articles on the matter.

I may also ask if I must or must not place on the payroll the newspaper men? I say No. I think I am the only mayor who on record even removed a room of the press club in City Hall. For this, the press reported that I quarrelled with the board, and sided with the board in connection with allowances. As for me, I used my allowances for public improvements in the city, for paying for the awards of the Filipino Film Festival, for paying for all the wreaths that I have to place at the Rizal Monument and other monuments on days that we commemorate or celebrate, for paying for the keys that I give to the dignitaries coming to the city, and for all its official functions, not having a public relations fund.

There must be a reason for all the oppositions of the board and the vice mayor to the mayor. There must be something wrong in the system. So I say that we change the system. Let us abolish the office of the mayor, the vice mayor, and the Municipal Board.

Why? Today the combined appropriations of the mayor, the vice mayor, and the Municipal Board is about ₱6,000,000.00 a year. Of this amount, the Mayor's Office spend, incidentally, only ₱1,800,000.00. This is not for the mayor alone. This is for the Cultural Affairs Office, the Better Business Bureau, the Placement Bureau, the Office of the City Legal Officer, the Office of the Secretaries, the Manila Zoo which is under him. These are for operational offices.

Right in my own office, my own immediate office, I have only 5 employees. But in the office of the vice mayor, there are 95 employees. Yet his duty is simply to preside and to sign what the board approves. In the entire office of the mayor of Manila there are only 195 employees, but in the entire Municipal Board, there are 715 employees. When I once checked how many were present and working on November 2, there were only 95. Of course, they are political pensionados.

Hence I say that, let us have then a 5-man Manila Commission, with one chief commissioner elected throughout the city and one commissioner elected for every congressional district. I notice that if I raise my right hand, I raise my five fingers. With the five fingers, the four represent the four districts of Manila because, you will notice, it is hard for them to get together, while the fifth or thumb representing the chief commissioner could roam around the four districts. So I say there should be five not three. Not three because three might mean one-two-three. Even if we appropriate ₱250,000.00 per district commissioner for his salary, his staff and discretionary expenses, that would only mean ₱1,000,000.00. Even if we appropriate ₱1,000,000.00 for the chief commissioner, because he will cover the entire four districts for himself, his secretaries and his staff, that would mean only a total of ₱2,000,000.00. Thus Manila would save ₱4,000,000.00 a year for its appropriations. In four years, that would mean ₱16,000,000.00. Perhaps with ₱16,000,000.00, we can build better museums and better theaters. We can write more books and have more books for the City of Manila.

You may ask me how will the affairs of the city be undertaken under such commissioners? The affairs of the city will be undertaken by the career officials, by the various department heads who are to be appointed by the commission, no longer by the President of the Philippines.

Incidentally, I am opposed to the President appointing department heads like today. The President appoints the city treasurer, the city engineer, and the city health officer. There was a time before the passage of the Police Commission Act of 1966, when the President even appointed the chief of police. Whenever the President does not like the mayor, because he does not belong to the same party, what does he do? He sabotages the mayor not directly but by telling the department heads to put a roadblock to everything that the mayor does.

You will recall that in September, 1967, after President Marcos appointed a new city treasurer of Manila we have had delays in salary payments. That was in September, 1967, and the elections were in November 1967. There were similar delays in 1968, because President Marcos thought I would run for president in 1969. It was a good way of embarrasing me.

So I say this also that all department heads be appointed by the commission from among the career employees of each department. In the meetings of the commission, the department heads should have a voice but not a vote. Therefor, we will have the views of experts on all given matters. Then, we will add some more departments. One of these is a department of Filipino culture to take care of the cultural heritage of this city. With these my friends, I do hope that we shall be able to change the structure of the city. Remember that the structure of the Filipino family has always been an organic whole under a single leadership.

Of course, we go by the principle of collective leadership. So the commissioners will all run together. However, I will put provisions: one, that all commissioners shall be elected on a nonpartisan basis. This is the reason why I went on leave from the Liberal Party because I do say that sanitation, education, peace and order, public improvements, beautification, cultural advancement, and others are beyond partisan debate and partisan consideration. We don't need parties in local governments. Two: that the chief commissioner may not run for reelection. Only the deputy commissioners may run. Three: No relatives of the chief commissioner shall be able to run in that election at the end of his term, any relative by affinity or consaguinity within the fourth civil degree so that there will be no dynasty. There will be no use of governmental facilities by dynasties.

You will ask me, "Mr. Mayor, *Pero ikaw tumatakbo ng re-*

eleksiyon (but you are running for reelection)." My friends, in 1966 after Mr. Macapagal lost, I announced no more politics, only civics. I have abandoned all thoughts of running for reelection. I meant it. But in March 1966, because President Marcos, after winning the election, would not pardon me for going against him in 1965, and because the Nacionalista Party wanted to put down the Liberal Party administration in Manila, I found myself accused of unexplained wealth.

In 1966, for one whole year, and in 1967, for another whole year, you had newspaper stories about a so-called five-star general. Headlines, including those in the *Philippines Free Press* blared about the five-star general. Neither complainant nor witnesses were mentioned; all allegedly came from police sources. So I felt that faced as I was with a case that questioned my integrity, in 1967 I decided to run again and placed before the people of Manila, my character and integrity and my performance in public office.

The Forbes Park issue was one which I faced squarely. I wish you to know as historians that if we do have a commission form of government, I would ask that there be a residence for the chief commissioner, who will be the chief executive of the city. In Negros, the provincial governor has a residence. In Bulacan, the provincial governor has a residence in Malolos. But in Manila, the mayor has no residence.

Why did I take my family to Forbes Park? It is because I wanted to disprove what politicians have been saying that I entered public service poor and I will leave it poor. I say that no wonder all the people are still poor because as mayor with a salary of ₱36,00.000.00 per annum, with free car and free gasoline and a free meal everytime I am invited, I cannot lift myself from poverty and have a decent home. Therefore I wanted to remove hatred against the rich, so I decided to go to Forbes Park. I went there because when I became mayor, my house in Manila lost its privacy. I am still asleep when visitors would arrive already, so that when I have to eat, they have to eat with me. Hospitality so demands. If my wife should have her snack, all those present would have to be served also. If still there at noontime they have to be taken care again. We cannot drive them away from our house. This prevailed from morning till night.

My children could not study. They have to eat in their bedrooms. So I said to myself, no wonder the families of politicians have been broken and their children have become juvenile delinquents, because their children do not grow up normally in what should be a decent home. So I thought I must give them a decent home.

One factor greatly influenced our decision to transfer to another location. After removing the squatters from Intramuros, I received threats of vengeance to my person and my children. If my house cannot be closed and has to remain open to the people, where will my children be? Where will I keep them? So I said to my wife that we look for another home. After looking around, she said, "Why don't we go back to Philamlife?" But I discovered that the squatters I have driven out from Intramuros have gone around Philamlife. That did not solve our problem of security.

So my wife suggested that we went to an exclusive place. She found that house at Forbes Park for sale at ₱250,000.00. We agreed to raise the money, so that we would have a home which will allow me more time with the people of Manila. To raise the amount, I went to Philamlife. I asked Mr. Earl Carroll of Philamlife if he could lend me the amount. Having faith, perhaps in my character, he agreed but asked me for what purpose did I need it. I said I would buy a house and a lot at Forbes Park. I told him to pay it direct to the seller, and so checks were issued direct to the seller. This is the reason I have not been afraid of that issue. I have been willing to face the issue squarely. When my good friends J. V. Cruz, Monching Mitra, Nory Poblador, Angel Cruz, Don Quintin Paredes, Jimmy Velasquez and all the rest told me that it was a kiss of political death and that I should sell the house, I told them that I would rise and fall on the issue. I will face it and I will live on it. With our moving to Forbes Park I am the only politicians on record who have gone there.

When I entered Forbes Park, I discovered that Congressman Bagatsing had a house and lot there. I also discovered that other politicians have also houses and lots there. Yet in public they would say they are poor, honest employees of the government. So I say that there is so much hypocricy somewhere.

When I was asked in Tondo why I went to Forbes Park, I said that I went there to plant the flag of Tondo, to show the rich that a man from Tondo can enter their place and infiltrate it. I went there to know what makes it good, so that knowing what is good in there, I can give them the good in there and bring it to Tondo. After I went there. I started planting trees in Manila. After having been there and seeing an abundant supply of water there which Manila needed, I loaned NAWASA ₱20,000,000.00 of the City's money. This enabled it to borrow from the World Bank. This much has not been so well reported in the press.

With this, the NAWASA undertook its water expansion program. Unfortunately, because of mismanagement until now it has not been finished. There are supposed to be five reservoirs in Manila, one at Abad Santos street, one at Perez street, one at Algeciras street, one at Espiritu street, Singalong. There is supposed to be abundant water in Manila.

There is another thing I noticed at Forbes Park. We are getting water, not from the Balara Filters, but from a deep well. I have said before that free water should be given to the poor, so that they can plant, they can wash, they can take a bath everyday. and not say *"naspu naspu lang dehin goli."*

As you know well, the people of Manila vindicated me in 1967. But I still say that the reelection provision in the law regarding the incumbent mayor should be removed, because an incumbent mayor will always run for reelection for the simple reason that there is always a feeling that if he does not run for reelection, the people no longer want him. When he runs as he must, he will use the facilities of his office. To prevent this, the reelection clause should be removed.

Other provisions in the Revised Charter of Manila should be adopted. Among these is the provision that all the streets, all the esteros, and all the plazas and monuments in Manila shall be placed under the administration and control of the City of Manila. Today, one half of the streets in Manila belong to the national government, one half to the city. One fourth of the esteros belong to the city and three fourths to the national government.

Yet the national government does nothing to these, while I get blamed for its failure to do its obligation.

Incidentally, referring to the Luneta, from that portion of the road behind the Rizal monument to the city wall it is registered by Torrens title in the name of the City of Manila. From that portion of it behind said monument to Taft Avenue, excluding the children's playground, it is registered in the name of the national government. Of that land where the children's playground in front of Jai Alai is, the Torrens title is in the name of the City of Manila. While President Macapagal was in office — we were both Liberals — I told him that it be developed. I asked him to create a committee for this purpose. He created a committee and it was developed. When it was almost completely developed, after President Marcos came in office, the mayor of Manila was excluded from the committee. But since I declared my political autonomy last October 31, last week, I received a copy of an executive order making the mayor of Manila a member of the National Parks Development Committee.

So I say that possibly there will be more cooperation between Malacañang and Maharnilad, if there is less politics in Manila. I do not know your views on this, but as historians, I think you should take a position on this based on your honest opinion in the matter. I wish you to know, however, that I appreciate your efforts to interest us in history. In this respect, I pledge to you that in the proposed bill on the Manila city commission, one of the provisions I would like to have included is that certain funds be utilized for historical researches.

I must confess today that I had an ordinance passed appropriating ₱500,000.00 for Manila's fourth centenary. But the Auditor General and the Office of the President have ruled that I cannot spend money of the city for celebrations of historical events. Yet out of that money, we had plans to allocate a certain portion for the history of Manila to be given through Mrs. Nakpil whom I have requested to assign some scholars to prepare the same.

I am surprised that we cannot spend money for the celebration of an historical event. They said the charter of the City of Manila defines and limits its authority. There is nothing written in it about celebrations. I said, "How about the general welfare clause?" They said that that is too broad. So they interpreted the general welfare clause as they pleased. I think this ought to be changed also. I intend to have it changed.

I also wish that Manila will not only buy books but will publish books. If Manila can publish books, then Manila can create a commission of scholars to write books. These should be the official books or publications of the City of Manila. Working would be scholars, who will not be in the government service. We will make it clear that it shall be by commission.

I also wish the law changed requiring that whenever we buy books, we should do it by public bidding. You can just imagine why in buying a textbook that is copyrighted, I have yet to conduct a public bidding. I am not allowed to negotiate.

I would also ask that a part of Manila's money be allowed to be appropriated to subsidize the local firm industry on a counterpart basis, so that local movie producers can produce films on culture, films that would be educational.

Lastly, I would also ask that the City of Manila be authorized and empowered to accept deposits of taxes expressly from residents who will advance the payment of taxes provided those taxes are used to cement the street in front of their houses. That should be allowed, instead of floating bonds, instead of borrowing from abroad. If this could be done, we could accelerate the improvement of this city.

I have discussed this matter with you, on the Manila City Commission, not only because Mrs. Nakpil has asked me to touch on the subject, but because I wish to appeal to you today for support of this bill. As soon as I finish the bill, we will give your president a copy, so that all of you can have a copy. I pray you will support me on this bill.

Manila: Keystone of Progress*

Celedonio O. Resurreccion

WHETHER Manila was a cornerstone or a keystone of Philippine progress is not debatable. This was settled on June 3, 1571, when Miguel Lopez de Legazpi gave the title of city to the colony of Manila, appointing formally on June 24 of the same year the city officials—two *alcaldes* (magistrates) in ordinary, one *aguacil-mayor* (chief constable) and twelve *regidores* (councilors)—and on June 25 the notary for the *cabildo* (city council) and two notaries for the said *alcaldes.*[1]

To my mind, what is debatable is whether there was progress at all during the Spanish regime. Two conflicting schools of thought have emerged—the Hispanocentric which affirms, and the ethnocentric which negates, the existence of progress. It should be easier, perhaps, for me to take the nationalistic ethnocentric view. But I have to adopt, by necessity, the assumption inherent in my topic "Manila: Keystone of Progress." I therefore postulate that there was progress and, further, that Manila was the seat, the cornerstone, the keystone, of that progress.

But what is a cornerstone? A keystone? What is meant by progress? A cornerstone is defined as "a stone at the corner of a building; such a stone, often inscribed, laid at a ceremony formally beginning the erection of a building; the basic, essential, or most important part, foundation." The founding of the City of Manila marked the beginning of a series of acts of colony-building in these islands. Manila served as the vital base of colonial operations and administration.

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* Lecture delivered at the Annual Convention of the Philippine Historical Association held at the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila on December 5, 1970.

[1] Hernando Riquel, "Foundation of the City of Manila," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803,* by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, Vol. III, pp. 173-174. This work will be cited hereafter as BR.

What is a keystone? In architecture the keystone is "the voussoir at the crown of an arch, regarded as binding the whole; a part of force on which associated things depend." In the organizational structure of a highly centralized government, Manila functioned like a keystone, holding together the various organs and instrumentalities of Spain's colonial government in the islands.

Progress has been defined as "forward course; development; improvement." Every historic event has a creative potentiality. There is progress if that creative potentiality awakens to life and leads to innovation. Such innovation may be socially useful or otherwise, for I take the view that there are always two sides to everything; that is, that a historical event may show a perspective of chiaroscuro (light and darkness) as the Italians would say.

My approach is not to take an entirely nihilistic view of the creative possibilities of anterior events. I intend also to show the forward linkage, the forward movement, of historical forces as they took shape in the City of Manila during the Spanish period. My task is to gather some selected threads from the spool of history and weave them into a meaningful, useful pattern. This is as it should be: we must endeavor to search for our usable past in the search for our usable future, viewing historic events not with borrowed lenses of the foreigners but with our own, even if our lenses suffer from grinding imperfections.

I have divided my paper into two major parts. The first dwells on political progress and the other on what I conveniently call "socionomic"[2] progress.

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[2] Coined by Kenneth E. Boulding to convey the idea of "social" and "economic."

AS KEYSTONE OF POLITICAL PROGRESS

What made Manila the keystone of political progress? A recital of the pertinent chain of events will be helpful.

By virtue of the royal decree[3] of August 15, 1569, appointing Miguel Lopez de Legazpi as Governor and Captain General, as long as he lived, of the island of Cebu as well as of other settlements made by him and those still to be made, he was empowered, among other things:

1. To administer the Spanish civil and criminal justice;
2. To take and receive the oath and formality requisite in such case of all municipal bodies, courts, magistrates, knights, squires, officials, and good men in all cities, towns, and hamlets;
3. To appoint to the offices of governor, captain, general, constables and other offices suitable to his government;
4. To take the payments annexed and pertaining to their offices;
5. To dismiss and remove erring subordinates and to appoint substitutes;
6. To hear, examine, and decide any civil or criminal suit and to conduct any investigation.

These plenary powers given to Legazpi permitted him to exercise a wide latitude of decision-making and action in his plural capacity as legislator, executive, and judge in order to carry out effectively the instructions given to him.

Legazpi disembarked in Manila on the sixteenth day of May, 1571. He had come from Panay whither he had previously gone from Cebu in search of better provisions.[4] Three days later, on May 19, Manila became a Spanish colony after the sack of Soliman's kingdom. A week later Legazpi issued an edict that would give lands and *repartimientos* to settlers in Manila as inducement for all those who came with him—captains, soldiers, and gentlemen—to settle as citizens of Manila which he intended to convert shortly into a city.[5] On June 3, 1571, he gave the title of City to the colony and, as already mentioned, appointed the city officials on June 24 and 25.[6] On June 6, Hernando Riquel, notary-in-chief and government notary for the King in the islands, and Martin de Goiti, master-of-camp, drew up a notarial document affirming Legazpi's taking possession of the entire island of Luzon.[7]

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[3] "Confirmation of Legazpi's Title as Governor and Captain-General," BR, Vol. III, pp. 62-66.

[4] "Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon," BR, Vol. III, p. 153.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

The first meeting of the first City Council of Manila was held on June 28, 1571.[8] The Governor and Captain General was present in the name of His Majesty, the King, at the meeting where he issued ordinances for the guidance of the Council. The notarized proceedings prepared by Riquel begins with an invocation to the "Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Three Persons in one true God." The second paragraph names the persons who attended the meeting. The third paragraph relates that Legazpi requested the Council

> to have special care of the service of God and of His Majesty and to see to the peace, tranquility, development and good government of this city, doing away with public sin, blasphemy, gambling and other offenses against our Lord, punishing those guilty thereof, bearing in mind chiefly the protection and defense of the natives so that they shall not be hurt, aggrieved, or molested in their persons or possessions but rather be well treated and protected for His Majesty, as well as the Catholic Kings who reigned before him have always wanted to preach the Gospel all over the world to show the way of truth to the heathen and the barbarians who are now blinded by idolatry...[9]

Lastly, he asked the Council members to obey his instructions, among which are the following as paraphrased:

1. That the Council shall meet regularly twice a week on Mondays and Fridays and in special session, with no one being permitted to bear arms during the meeting;

2. That councilors, not otherwise disabled or incapacitated, shall attend meetings and unexcused absenses shall be punished with suspension from participation;

3. That the Council shall keep a record of its proceedings in permanent book form;

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[7] Riquel, *op.* and *loc. cit.*, p. 173.

[8] "Ordenanzas dadas por Miguel Lopez de Legazpi al primer Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de Manila," in *The Christianization of the Philippines*, pub. by the Historical Conservation Society and the University of San Agustin (Manila, 1965), pp. 338-342.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 338.

4. That decisions shall be made by majority vote;
5. That proceedings shall be secret and shall not be revealed under pain of penalty;
6. That the mayors shall have no vote unless the councilors are equally divided;
7. That any Muslim or pagan merchants from other countries who come to trade shall be well received and treated, and no one shall molest them;
8. That no one shall be allowed to gamble publicly or to live in concubinage and to be a vagrant;
9. That all fines shall be turned over to the Royal Treasury and if any official shall fail in this duty, he shall pay double the amount he has failed to turn over;
10. That the Council shall receive all the citizens of the city who may wish to consult with it;
11. That the Council may give and distribute residential lands to the citizens of the City of Manila;
12. That the Council shall nominate four nominees for the position of Mayors in Ordinary;
13. That when a Council member makes a proposal or votes or says what is in his mind, he shall not be interrupted till he finishes.[10]

From these ordinances one can readily see that the art and science of public administration in Manila of 1571 was as modern as it is today with but slight variations. At that time, however, it was a sharp departure from that of Rajah Soliman's kingdom. In the first place, the Spanish government was Christian-centered. In the second place, there was emphasis on ethos, on the personal and public conduct of members of the City Council. Thirdly, the proceedings of a deliberative government of Manila were recorded for the first time, it is assumed with comparative safety. Fourthly, the government of the City of Manila was entrusted not any more to one man alone, as it was under Soliman, but to several men—that is to say, to two magistrates and twelve *regidores*. While Soliman had an all-native local government, Spanish Manila had all-Spanish membership. This all goes to show that political progress in Manila was Hispanic, not native. The beneficiaries were Spanish sinecures and sycophants.

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[10] *Ibid.*

From the enthnocentric point of view, the city government of Manila was not an innovative novelty. Legazpi was not innovating and could not have done so under the circumstances. He set up a system already familiar to him and his fellow Spaniards. Because of the pressures and stress of the moment, the political system he set up was likely suffering from imperfections inherent in improvisations of like nature and therefore was hardly essentially an improvement. From the ethnocentric point of view, the destruction of Soliman's kingdom was a tragedy. Likewise, the subordination of the various chieftains to a formidable list of Spanish superiors was positively a retrogress. Although the chieftains retained their status in their *barangays*, the strategy of political administration was to make, as it did make, them instruments of pacification and unification as well as of collection of taxes and other exactions. Dr. Antonio de Morga said in his book:

> Desde este puesto se fue prosiguiendo la pacificacion de las demas provincias de esta grande isla de Luzon y de las cosas que estan en su conterno, viniendo las unas de paz a la obediencia, y otras conquistandolas con las armas y con la industria de los religiosos... asi en el tiempo y gobierno del Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, como de los demas gobernadores.[11]

Manila was not only the base of military operations and pacification campaigns. As the capital city of the Philippines, it became the cultural center, where socionomic policies were laid down and given initial implementation for extension, if necessary, to the periphery of local governments.

We have just dealt with the city government of Manila. What of the central government—the government that had its umbilicus in Spain, its corpus in Manila, and its arms stretched like tentacles to the remotest barrios? One can imagine the complicated hierarchy of the central and local governments, notwithstanding their organizational elegance, that placed the once mighty *barangay* chieftains at the bottom position. It was never the same again as that in Soliman's time. In other words, the chieftains lost their premiership, their leaderships, their pre-eminence, in the community.

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[11] *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas del Dr. Morga.* Con Anotaciones de Jose Rizal. Paris: Libreria de Garnier Hermanos, 1890. Edicion del Centenario. Manila: Comision Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal, 1961, p. 11-12. Hereafter cited as *Sucesos.* The English translation published by same Commission will be cited as *Historical Events.*

The Hispanocentric view is that the political transformation in the Philippines represented progress. The ethnocentric stand denies the full validity of this claim. There could be a forward movement, but for whose benefit? Institutional improvements are meaningless if they are achieved at the expense of the social well-being.

Political centralism is essentially an instrument for effective control of the governed. Recent history is replete with examples: Hitler's Nazi Germany, Mussolini's Fascist Italy, Stalin's Communist Russia. Any increase in government omnipotence subtracts from the sphere of individual freedom. A powerful central government emasculates the vigor, the flexibility, and the ingenuity of the local governments. It is axiomatic, born of empirical knowledge, that the greater the degree of administrative centralism in the government is, the greater becomes the degree of inattention and neglect of institutions at the bottom of the hierarchical structure.

If political progress is to be admitted to have taken place during the Spanish times, it was limited to the material institutional structures. Manila became a little Madrid, a little Spain inhabited by the *peninsulares* but inaccessible to the *indios* and the Chinese as well as the progenies of miscegenation. Insofar as the more meaningful aspect of living was concerned, as far as the general welfare of the natives was involved, one can easily prove the assertion that there was deterioration. One could read through the whole fifty-five volumes of the encyclopedic work of Blair and Robertson[12] and find in vain a single volume that is not stained with atrocities and barbarities committed on the indigenous population. During the first half of the Spanish rule, the civil and military authorities were committing unspeakable abuses, while as a consoling factor the missionaries put up an ostensibly but ineffective defense of the unhappy victims. During the second and last half, when the growing spirit of liberalism, no matter how modicum, began to seep into the political fabric and the effects of the friarization of the parishes began to tell, there was a reversal of roles to such an extent that there developed practically no political movement for emancipation. In fact, a strong anti-fiar movement long antedated the nationalistic clamor for independence.

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[12] See Footnote 1 above.

I should like to conclude this discussion on Manila as keystone of political progress with the observation that while Soliman and his men, as well as the other indigenous population, could, as they did, enjoy a life of ease, splendor and peace in their respective *barangay* settlements, the natives for over three hundred years under Spain never had a *pax indiana*, never had a cornucopia of material prosperity, never found peace of mind, peace of heart and soul. This will be further corroborated by the following discussion on the socionomic aspect.

AS KEYSTONE OF SOCIONOMIC PROGRESS

This second part will take up the social and economic development, in the sense of changes, during the Spanish era in the islands, with special focus on Manila. The discussion on social development will include the social stratification, state of education, and religion, while that on economic development will explore changes in commerce, agriculture, and industry.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Social Classes

The social organization in Soliman's time was simple, consisting of the *maharlikas* or nobility class, the *timawas* or *timaguas*, or freemen, and the servile, dependent class called *alipin*.[13] Heading the ruling nobility class was a datu, or raja if he is an overlord. The free middle class is enlarged in size by increments from the servile, dependent class who have won their freedom and even from the nobility class. The *alipin* were not slaves as erroneously thought by the Spaniards, but helpers of which there were two kinds: the *aliping namamahay*, who had his own family and house and performed menial help for his master, and the *aliping sagigilid*, who was not a chattel because he received compensation for his services and could own and dispose of property.[14] The latter resembled debt peons.[15]

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[13] Teodoro Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People*. Revised Edition. Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967.

Of the relationship of the classes, Morga said that throughout the islands there were neither kings nor lords to rule the natives and that, instead, there were many chiefs (*principales*), who were respected and obeyed by their own followers, and had friendly relations and communication with one another.[16] An annotation by Jose Rizal cites Argensola who observed that the servile, dependent class ate with their master at the same table and afterward married members of the family.[17] This was Solimanic society—simple but democratic and closely knit.

What happened to that society: In his book wherein he described Manila and its suburbs, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri,[18] who arrived in 1696, or 125 years after the fall of Manila, reported that the *indios* were no longer free as they used to be; in fact, they had to live with external signs of subjugation such as when "the Indians are forbid wearing stockings, and they must of necessity go bare legged."[19] He also mentioned the existence of social distinctions by blood, saying that the people were identified as *criollo, mestizo, castizo, terceron, quarteron, quinteron mulato, grifo*, etcetera.[20]

At the top of the social hierarchy were the Spanish *peninsulares*, those born in Spain. They were followed by the Filipinos *Españoles*, or simply Filipinos, who were born in the islands of pure Spanish parentage on both sides. Although the *peninsulares* discriminated against Filipinos, they were united in all cases by their *españolismo* whenever the interest of the Mother Country was at stake. Below these two classes were the mixed breed—the *mestizos*, the *tercerones, quarterones, quinterones, sex-*

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[14] John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), p. 20.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[16] *Sucesos*, p. 293; *Historical Events*, p. 275.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 295, footnote 1; *Historical Events*, p. 276, footnote 6.

[18] *A Voyage to the Philippines.* Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1963, passim.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[21] C. O. Resurreccion, "Should We Change the Name Philippines?" *Historical Bulletin*, Philippine Historical Association, Vol. XI, No. 2, June 1967.

terones, hepterones, octerones, nonerones, and *decarones.* At the bottom were the *indios,* the indigenous population, who ironically call themselves Filipinos.[21] The name *indio* at that time was not merely an identification but a pejorative name. Thus, the lowly *indio* in Solimanic times, who was only two rungs below the datu and his family with whom he had close relations, found himself far removed from the center of authority. He became increasingly a stranger to and in his own society—neglected, maligned, exploited and abused. This from the ethnocentric viewpoint, was certainly retrogression.

Education and Charity

Shortly after Manila became occupied and declared as the capital of the Philippines, schools and charitable institutions were established. They could have meant progress in the real sense of the word were it not for their exclusive character and substandard quality.

In 1595 the Jesuits set up a secondary school "for the sons of Spaniards." This was the Colegio de Manila which admitted twelve *colegiales* "chosen from among the sons of the conquistadores of the Islands or of Spanish settlers of good standing."[22] In 1601 the Jesuits were authorized to found the Colegio de San Jose "for the training in virtue and letters of Spanish children of legitimate birth."[23] As late as 1876, this school was reported to have all Spanish students.[24]

The Dominicans founded the Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, a grammar school. It changed its name in 1611 to Colegio de Santo Tomas, which in 1645 was elevated to university status. Under the cedula of 1623, the school was intended for "the preaching of the Holy Gospel and teaching of the sons of Spanish citizens."[25]

In 1640 the Real Colegio de San Felipe de Austria was founded by Governor Corcuera for the education of the elite of

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[22] Domingo Abella, "State of Higher Education in the Philippines to 1863—A Historical Reappraisal." *Philippine Historical Review,* International Association of Historians of Asia (Philippines Chapter), Manila, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 9.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 12, citing Colin-Pastells, *Labor Evangelica,* II, pp. 482-483.

[24] *Ibid*

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 13

Manila's Spanish community. "The *colegiales*," reads Rule 3 of its charter, "must be of pure [Spanish] race and have no mixture of Moorish or Jewish blood, to the fourth degree, and shall have neither negro nor Bengali blood . . . or a fourth part of native [Filipino indio] blood."[26]

True, the Jesuits envisioned "a whole new educational system which would have for its aim not the limited one hitherto pursued in the College of Manila of educating Spaniards, but the training of native elite," but they, the Jesuits, were banished from the Philippines.[27]

In 1620 the Colegio de Niños Huerfanos de San Juan de Letran was founded for the education of "orphaned Spanish children."[28] About 1630 the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo was founded to take care of Spanish foundlings. It merged with the Colegio de Niños in 1706, resulting in what is now known as Colegio de San Juan de Letran. Founded along the same pattern was the Colegio de Santa Potenciana, which was "primarily founded for the full-blooded Spanish girls *peninsulares* or *creoles* and only secondarily, and at a later date, for the *mestizo* girls also."[29]

In 1865 the Colegio de Santa Isabel, which was founded in 1632 "to look after the welfare of orphaned Spanish girls," absorbed another school established by royal order under the auspices of Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas—an institution "for the shelter of abandoned unmarried Spanish girls."[30] Up to 1800 the Colegio de Santa Isabel was exclusively for pure-blooded Spanish *colegialas*.

The same situation obtained in nunneries. Native women could not be professed as full-fledged nuns because of their misfortune of being born as *indias*. The Franciscan Real Monasterio de Santa Clara (founded 1621) and the Dominican Beaterio de Santa Catalina de Sena were open only to ladies of pure Spanish blood.[31]

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[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

The King having written him an inquiry whether there was a seminary for the training of native priests, Governor Cruzat wrote back "that there was not and never had been any such institution in Manila, adding that he himself saw no necessity for it."[32] When at long last two seminaries were established for the training of native priests, these were so very poorly taught that Governor General Ramon Solano in 1860 wrote that "their usefulness is almost if not altogether nil."[33]

A discussion of the quality of education under Spain would serve no purpose since the *indios* were excluded from the schools. It may be stated in passing, however, "that the primary education given to the *indios* did not go beyond the parochial catechetical level," which caused Vicente Barrantes, an Spanish official, to describe the dismal situation in 1869 thus:

> That the indigenous race right now, and undoubtedly for a long time past, weeps in the limbo of ignorance, none can deny who, like this writer, has profoundly studied that country [the Philippine Islands] . . .[33a]

How do these changes compared with the state of literacy in Solimanic times? Father Chirino found a highly literate native population in Luzon and the Visayas, saying:

> There is hardly a man, and much less a woman, who does not read and write in the characters used in Manila, which are entirely different from those of China, Japan and India.[34]

Later, Morga was to write that

> Almost all the natives, both men and women, know how to write in Arabic . . . and there are few who do not write it well and properly.[35]

But as noted by Rizal:

> The same thing cannot be said today. The government in print and in words tries to educate the Filipinos, but in deed and at bottom, it foments ignorance, placing education in the hands of the friars who are accused by Spaniards, Filipinos, and foreigners of wanting the brutalization of the country and they themselves prove it with their behavior and writing.[36]

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[32] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[33a] *Ibid.*, p. 23, quoted by Abella.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 25, quoted by Abella.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 25, quoted by Abella.

[36] *Sucesos*, p. 290, footnote 2.

In the face of all these historical facts, can we say that there was educational progress for the *indios*?

Religion and Progress

Legazpi was accompanied by Augustinian friars. It did not take long when other religious arrived in Manila, which became the seat, the keystone, of missionary activities. On February 6, 1576, Pope Gregory XII issued a bull for the erection of the diocese and Cathedral Church of Manila. The document reads in part:

> After mature deliberation with our brethren . . . by our apostolic authority, by perpetual tenor of these presents . . . *we separate, exempt, and wholly release the church of the city known as Manila* in the said island of Luzon, as well as the city itself, and, in the islands belonging to it and their districts, territories, and villages, all the inhabitants of either sex, all the clergy, people, secular and regular persons, monasteries, hospitals, and pious places, as well as ecclesiastical and secular benefices, of whatsoever orders of regulars, from our venerable brother the archbishop of Mexico, and from any other ecclesiastical and diocesan prelates, under whose jurisdiction they previously may have been—as well as from all jurisdiction, superiorship, cognizance, visit, dominion, and power of any one whomsoever. Moreover, by the aforesaid authority and tenor, *we erect and establish forever the town of Manila into a city*, and its church into a cathedral, under the title of "the Conception of the same Blessed Mary Virgin," *to be held by one bishop as its head*, who shall see to the enlargement of its building and their restoration in the style of the cathedral church . . .[37]

Soon after the arrival of Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P., first bishop of the Philippines, he started to undertake the cleaning of the Augean stables. One of his most significant acts was the convening of a *congregacion*, or assembly, of his clergy in order to deliberate on matters of public conduct and certain problems of public import and urgency. This assembly was referred to as "the first synod of Manila" because for all intent and purposes it acted like a synod.[38] A diocesan synod is defined as "a lawful assembly convoked by the bishop, in which he gathers together the priests and clerics of his diocese and all others who are bound to attend it, for the purpose of doing and deliberating concerning what belongs to the pastoral care."[39]

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[37] "Bull for Erection of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Manila," BR, Vol. IV, pp. 118-119.

[38] H. de la Costa, "The First Synod of Manila, 1581-1586," *Buletin ng Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas* (*Bulletin of the Philippine Historical Association*), No. 6, pp. 59-77.

The synod considered, among other things, the lawful use of sovereignty by those who governed in the King's name—the governor general, the *alcaldes mayores* of provinces, and the *encomenderos*. It criticized all of them, implying that all was not well, that everything had deteriorated morally and therefore there was need for the synod to point out the righteous way.

Because the governor was the supreme authority in the colony, he should be a paragon of integrity and justice. He himself must be just, and he must see to it that all others were just. The root of all anarchy, the synod believed, was the failure of the governor general to punish those who committed injuries to the natives. This was the explanation why the soldiers continued

> exploiting them, beating them, forcing them to work against their will or without pay, requisitioning their meager store of food, confiscating their embarcations, ravishing their wives and daughters, and inflicting many other injuries upon them.[40]

As to the *alcaldes mayores,* the synod prepared a list of the abuses that they should avoid. Among these were: (1) governing the provinces in absentia; (2) encouraging lawsuits in order to collect more fees; (3) overcharging for court fees; (4) forcing the natives to sell their products to them at less than the market prices; (5) engrossing prime commodities; and (6) employing on their private estates statute laborers drafted for public works.[41]

It might be added in this connection that these abuses were substantially identical to the complaints and grievances aired by and embodied in a manifesto of prominent native chieftains in the suburbs of Manila, to Bishop Salazar.[42]

As to the *encomenderos*, the synod reminded them that "the principal reason for granting an *encomienda* is not so much to reward the *encomendero* for his labors in the royal services as to discharge the conscience of the King with reference to the natives of the *encomienda.*

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 60, quoting the Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XVI, p. 338.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

[42] "Letter from Domingo de Salazar to Felipe II," BR, Vol. III, pp. 188-191.

> ...the synod's conception of the encomendero duties went far beyond the essential services specified in the royal decrees. More than a ruler he was to be a father to his people; stand surety and plead for them at court; provide emergency relief in time of public calamities such as draught, flood, typhoons; have particular care of the poor, the aged, the sick, the disabled; gradually gather the scattered clans together into larger communities, the sites of which were to be carefully chosen in consultation with the datus and the local missionary, and by thus introducing them to the settled life of towns enable them to acquire the arts and usages of civilization.[44]

The evangelization of the Philippine Islands was conducted within the singular framework of the *patronato real,* a characteristic institution of the Spanish colonial empire. By the terms of the papal bull "Universalis ecclesiae" of Julius II, the pontiff granted to Ferdinand and his successors the exclusive right to recommend or present candidates for colonial bishoprics, abbacies, canonries, and other ecclesiastical benefices, and to erect churches in the colonies. This papal concession was in consideration of the undertaking on the part of the Spanish sovereign to promote the evangelization of his pagan subjects and provide for the material needs of the church in his dominions, such undertaking being called *patronato real,* royal patronage. Under the arrangement, the King appointed every missionary bishop and priest who depended on the crown for support, determined his assignment, and decided conflicts between him and those in the civil government, or even between him and other ecclesiastical officials.[45]

While the *patronato* had advantages reflecting progress in that it relieved missionaries of financial problems and made possible the avoidance of unnecessary duplication of work through royal coordination of activities, the actual operation of this union of Church and State led to unforeseen problems that

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[43] De la Costa, *op. cit.,* p. 69.

[44] *Ibid.,* p. 72.

[45] Horacio de la Costa, "Episcopal Jurisdiction in the Philippines during the Spanish Regime, *Studies in Philippine Church History,* edited by Gerald H. Anderson (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 21. Hereafter to be cited as *Anderson.*

rocked the Church for more than three hundred years and watered down the quality of their missionary work. Among the resulting problems were the controversy regarding the validity of Spanish sovereignty over the Islands, the question of episcopal jurisdiction, and the question of secularization, as well as the retardation of the normal development of a native secular clergy.

Spanish sovereignty.—Because of the patronato, the colonial administrators regarded the Spanish crown as competent to dispose of ecclesiastical personnel and, on the other hand, the ecclesiastics regarded themselves as competent to provide ethos in political matters. Thus, among the first problems that pre-occupied the early missionaries and partly sapped their vitality was the question over the validity of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines, which became the subject of protracted disputations.

Starting with Fray Martin de Rada, O.S.A., who was with Legazpi, his position was that "none among all these islands have come into the power of the Spaniards with just title."[46] Briefly, the argument can be stated as follows: The Islands were brought under Spanish rule by reason of war; but this war, considered from any angle, was unjust; therefore the Islands were unjustly conquered—Spanish sovereignty in the Islands was not valid because it had no legal and moral justification.

Bishop Domingo de Salazar, O.P., followed the argument of his Council of 1582 "that no valid claim could be laid to the conquest of the Philippines other than that based on the right to preach the gospel with the qualifications" that "the right to preach the gospel did not include that of political and military conquest of the lands being evangelized.[47] However, to ensure the exercise of this right to preach,—opposition and even harm were expected from the natives—the presence of soldiers was deemed necessary to protect the missionaries. It is to be noted that the religious controversy was over the validity of the conquest of the Islands that was already a *fait accompli.*

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[46] *Ibid.,* p. 63.

[47] J. Gayo Aragon, O.P., "The controversy over justification of Spanish rule in the Philippines," *Anderson,* p. 11.

The following contemporary view stresses the meaning of the conquest:

> Certainly it is not true, as some have suggested, that Spain's legal title over the Philippines was based on the so-called right of discovery and conquest of these Islands by the Spanish conquistadores. These were the very grounds put up to question by the Spaniards themselves, for "discovery" as a legal title could only apply to uninhabited territories, which was not the case with the Philippines, and "conquest" is but a euphemism for the sanctioning of *might* as *right* contrary to the very ethos of Spain.[48]

It could hardly be claimed that this subversion of the ethos of Spain, this sanctioning of might as right, was progress. It was essentially a going back to the age of primordialism, back to the law of the jungle where survival was the supreme law, where might was indeed right.

Episcopal jurisdiction.—The Council of Trent had for one of its objectives the strengthening of the authority of the diocesan prelate over all aspects of religious life and activity within the diocese. The Council therefore decreed that those engaged in the pastoral care of souls were "immediately subject to the jurisdiction, visitation, and correction of the bishops." It decreed furthermore that no one could be appointed to the ministry of a parish or be given diocesan faculties, even temporarily, without the bishop's approval and consent.[49]

The Trentine decree ran counter to the pontifical authority granted by Pope Pius V (*Expeni nobis,* March 23, 1567) authorizing missionary religious in the Indies to act as true parish priests with complete independence from the diocesan prelates. However, in 1585 Philip II issued a cedula to the synod of Mexico enjoining the diocesan prelates to make visitations of the regular clergy engaged in the parish ministry. A state of confusion developed. Who was to be followed? The diocesan prelates or the provincial superiors of the religious orders?

The matter became a problem because the religious missionaries had dual personality: as parish priests they should be subject to the jurisdiction, visitation, and correction by the diocesan bishop; and as a regular clergy, they owed no obligation to the bishop but subordinated themselves to their respective provincial superiors. The curates played a double role: they refuse to be subject to the bishop's authority on the claim that they already obeyed their superiors; but they too disobeyed their superiors on the claim that they were curates under the bishop.

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[48] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[49] De la Costa, "Episcopal..." *Loc. cit.*, p. 58.

This duplicity of role was undoubtedly beneficial to the friars because they held on to their power and influence and, holding them, became corrupted. It adversely affected the well-being of the people as well as the native priests who developed a mounting disaffection that culminated in the martyrdom of Fathers Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora. What disfigurement of the image of the good friar in the early years of the conquest had suffered, can best be appreciated by a reading of Marcelo H. del Pilar's *La Soberania Monacal en Filipinas.* This solid brief against the friars was uncontested because it was incontestable.

As to whether the Filipino *indios* became better because of their Christianization, is a matter of opinion. At least I share the view of Father Horacio de la Costa that many Catholics are nominal, that is to say, non-practising Catholics. I think the main reason for this is that during the first fifty years when there was wholesale conversion of the natives into "instant" Christians, no serious attempt was made at the time to indoctrinate them in the faith. This state of affairs continued up to the end of the Spanish rule. The neglect of education of the natives, it is to be recalled, aggravated their ignorance in the faith. There was nothing commendable in the situation, which could not be dignified as among the cornerstones of Philippine progress.

Secularization and the native clergy. — This is not the proper place to repeat the oft-repeated problem of secularization of the parishes. Everybody knows the background and the pernicious effects of friars squatting in the parishes. But there are a few points that need mentioning. The friars did not want to relinquish the parishes to the seculars, their rightful occupants. There must be something in the parishes that could not be given up. The setting up of seminaries for the training of a native clergy was discouraged and prevented by every conceivable obstacle. Even when there was that chance to establish a seminary, the native students were ill-prepared for the vocation not because of dullness of mind but because there was deliberate attempt to instruct them improperly and poorly so that they would lack the merit and the capacity to take over the parishes. Furthermore, even when native priests had already been ordained, they were not allowed to handle parishes but, instead, were designated as clerks, sextons, or assistants of the friars. These historical facts can only lead to one conclusion, and this is: there was progress from the Europocentric view for the benefit of the friars, and from the ethnocentric view there was no luminuous day for the native clergy.

Material Progress

Material progress was in evidence right from the beginning of the Spanish conquest. Legazpi divided the site of Soliman's fort into equal-sized lots and distributed them among the Spaniards. There were allocations and reservations for other purposes: an ample plaza, an ayuntamiento or city hall, a royal audiencia or supreme court, a cathedral, military-parade grounds, beautiful government mansions, and stables. There were reservations too for the churches and convents of the Augustinians, the Dominicans, the Franciscans; for nunneries such as those of Santa Potenciana and Santa Clara; for hospitals and schools for Spanish boys and girls.[50]

The entire city was enclosed with a stone-wall constructed by Governor Dasmariñas. The stone-wall was surrounded with a moat, and both served not only to protect Manila against invaders like the Chinese Limahong and the Japanese Siocon, but also gave it a forbidding, exclusive character. At that time, Manila was Intramuros, and Intramuros was Manila. All the rest were suburbia, the *arrabales* where resided all those that could not be accepted or accommodated inside the walls.[51]

By royal cedula of November 19, 1595, issued by Philip II, Manila became the capital city of the Philippines, vested with privileges and powers accorded to all other capital cities of the Spanish Empire.[52] A few months later, that is, of March 20, 1596, Manila received her coat-of-arms:

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[50] *Sucesos*, p. 317 ff; *Historical Events*, p. 297 ff.

[51] *Ibid*

[52] *Ibid.*

a golden castle with blue gate and windows and a crown top, upon a red field in the upper portion of the shield, and upon the lower portion, on a blue field, a silver armoured half-lion and half-dolphin, with red nails and tongue and a sword in its paw.[53]

The material transformation of Manila could be more greatly appreciated from the effusive account of Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hong Kong, who came to the islands on a visit in 1858. He wrote:

> The city, which is surrounded by ramparts, consists of seventeen streets, spacious and crossing at right angles. As there is little business in this part of the capital (the trade being carried on the other side of the river), few people are seen in the streets, and the general character of *the place is dull and monotonous, and forms a remarkable contrast to the activity and crowding of the commercial quarters.* The cathedral, begun in 1654, and completed in 1672, is 240 feet in length and 60 in breadth. It boasts of fourteen bells, which have little repose; and of the carvings of the fifty-two seats which are set apart for the aristocracy. The archiepiscopal palace, though sufficiently large, did not appear to me to have any architectural beauty. The apartments are furnished with simplicity, and though the archbishop is privileged, like the Governor, to appear in some state, it was only on the occasion of religious ceremonies that I observed anything like display.[54] (Emphasis supplied.)

Regarding the mode of life in Manila, Bowring quotes Sinibaldo de Mas' description:

> They rise early, and take chocolate and tea (which is here called *cha*); breakfast composed of two or three dishes and a desert at ten; dinner at from two to three; siesta (sleep) till five to six; horses harnessed, and an hour's ride to the *paseo*; returning from which, tea with bread and biscuits and sweets, sometimes homewards, sometimes in visit to a neighbour; the evening passes as it may (cards frequently); homewards for bed at 11 p.m.; the bed a fine mat, with mosquito curtains drawn around; one narrow and one long pillow, called an *abrazador* (embracer), which serves as a resting-place for the arms or the legs. It is a Chinese and a convenient appliance. No sheets — men sleep in their stockings, shirts, and loose trousers (pajamas); the ladies in garments something similar. They say 'people must always be ready to escape into the street in case of an earthquake.[55]

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[53] Antonio Molina, *The Philippines Through the Centuries.* (Manila: UST Cooperative Store, 1960), Vol. I, p. 103. The escutcheon is also described by Dr. Antonio de Morga in *Sucesos*, p. 317; *Historical Events*, p. 297; Molina, *supra*, 103.

[54] John Bowring, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

If life in Manila was dull and monotonous, it was not so in the suburbs, where the *pueblos* were very populous, picturesque, productive, and progressive. "Santa Ana is a pretty village... surrounded by cultivated lands which, being irrigated by fertilizing streams, are productive, and give their wonted charm to the landscape — palms, mangoes, bamboos, sugar, plantations, and various fruit and forest trees on every side."[56]

Bowring recounts that he was invited to a village festival at Sampaloc (now a district of modern Manila).

> Bright illuminations adorned the houses; triumphal arches, the streets; everywhere music and gaiety and bright faces. There were several balls at the houses of the more opulent mestizos or Indians, and we joined the joyous assemblies. The rooms were crowded with Indian youths and maidens. Parisian fashions have not invaded these villages—there were no crinolines—these are confined to the capital [Intramuros], but in their native garments there was no small variety—the many-coloured gowns of home manufacture—the richly embroidered kerchiefs piña—earrings and necklaces, and other adornings; and then a vivacity strongly contrasted with the characteristic indolence of the Indian races. Tables were covered with refreshments—coffee, tea, wines, fruits, cakes and sweetmeats; and there seemed just as much of flirting and coquetry as overmarked the scenes of higher civilization.[57]

Binondo in 1858, the year of Bowring's visit, was the most important and most opulent *pueblo* of the Philippines. He called it "the real commercial capital. ... the place full of business activity." A bridge, the Puente Grande, "unites Manila and Binondo." There were commercial establishments, *almacenes*, warehouses, factories, and good wharfage on the bank of the Pasig.[58]

If this was the picture of the suburbs that surrounded Manila as seen by the British Governor of Hong Kong, one could imagine the affluence of the kingdom of Soliman that was burned to ashes by the Spaniards. As a matter of fact, after the fire there was left evidence of Soliman's household property and wealth. Compare now this reconstructed fort-kingdom of Soliman and its surrounding districts with the Manila that the Spaniards built. Yes, there were imposing massive buildings, but the streets were lifeless and dull. Is this progress? Hardly.

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[56] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

One can hardly speak of economic progress before the coming of Governor General Jose Basco y Vargas on July 25, 1778. Governor Basco established free trade between the Philippines and Spain, offered prizes for agricultural inventions and improved agricultural as well as manufacturing innovations and improvements. He organized the Economic Society of Friends that had several accomplishments to its credit. Under Basco the Royal Company of the Philippines was established, the tobacco monopoly was created, and Manila became a free port. In the final assessment of these accomplishments, who benefited? Not the masses of the population, but the Spaniards.

The nineteenth century has been described by historians as the period of awakening. It was because of the exposure of Manila to the rest of the world, which led to the free exchange of cultural achievements. There was progress in trade and commerce, in educational system, in political administration, in means of communication.

Again, the pertinent question is: Who benefited? This era laid the foundation of the wealth of the Spanish elites, the aristocracy. In agriculture, there were enterprising *creoles* — the Arrietas, Saenzes, Vizmanoses, Rubios, Gonzalezes, Custodios, Montillas, Castros, Friases, Urquijos, Uriartes, Perezes, Yulos, Ledesmas, Lizareses, Coscolluelas, Aranetas, Amonateguis, Amechazurras, Magalonas, Benedictos, Gustilos, Maravillas, Montenegros, Lasartes, Tagles, Arenases, Hontiveroses, Mondragones, Olmoses—whose descendants constitute today's agriculture's vested interests in the Philippines.[59] In commerce there are the Tuasons, Aguirres, Castros, Aldecoas, Muñozes, Roxases, Yrissarys, Elizaldes, Genatos, Roceses, Vizmanoses, Barrettos, Esquiveles, Garchitorenas, Orozcos, Marcaidas, Altavazes, the Ayalas, the Zobels, the Goyenas, the Ynchautis, the Jaureguis, the Larrazabals, the Pellicers, the Ugartes, and many others who today dominate the manufacturing and commercial sectors of the Philippine economy.[60] Where were the *indios* — the unaspiring natives who learned in more than three hundred years of Spanish rule that aspirations were unaspirable?

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[59] Clarita T. Nolasco, "The Creoles in Spanish Philippines." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Far Eastern University, Manila, 1969, *passim.*

[60] *Ibid., passim.*

It is futile here to show the advantages of the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade, or of the encomienda system, or of the tobacco monopoly. Insofar as the natives were concerned, these were means of enrichment by the Spaniards at the expense of the *indios*. The galleon trade was mercantilistic in origin and nature and its overemphasis on gold and silver led to inordinate and rapacious lusts for these metals, which in turn resulted in the abuse and exploitation of the natives. The encomienda system was admittedly a failure and though the King had decreed its abolition, the encomenderos failed to relinquish their rights and privileges and continued with their abuses. The tobacco monopoly no less diminished the abuse and exploitation of the natives.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning I postulated that during the Spanish rule over the islands, there was progress and that Manila was the seat, the cornerstone, the keystone, of that progress. This paper partly confirms and partly rejects the postulate.

There was progress for the Spanish colonial officials who built a city for themselves and reaped the spoils of conquest at all levels of government. There was progress for the Spanish conquistadores who converted their encomiendas into a source of lucre. There was progress for the Spanish friars who refused to vacate the parishes for ulterior reasons not associated with religion but with material aggrandizement and comfort. There was progress for the members of the Spanish community who built the foundation of their wealth and power in agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce.

On the other hand, there was stagnation among the natives. The term stagnation is a kind and liberal one, for the fact is that there was more of retrogression and exploitation, rather than mere stagnation. There was retrogression because many of their industries in pre-Spanish times disappeared and became forgotten; because they lost their high degree of literacy that amazed the early missionaries and laymen; because they were not privileged to acquire education for the reason that they were not eligible for any post in the government or in the parishes; because while in pre-Spanish times they enjoyed a wide latitude of political freedom, under the Spanish colonial government they were politically and socially placed at the bottom of the societal structure. Lastly, there was exploitation of every conceivable form with respect to produce, to labor, and even to family interest.

I have viewed history as having a chiaroscuro, light and shadow. I have not taken an entirely optimistic view. Neither have I taken an entirely nihilistic approach. But in drawing a final conclusion, I cannot take refuge in the Europocentric way of looking at history. To a Filipino of today, it is a duty to uphold an ethnocentric view of the Philippine history. The inference is irresistible that there was no progress in the Philippines under Spain. The measure of progress is not the handful of *peninsulares* and *creoles* who composed the elite of Philippine Spanish society. Rather, progress is to be measured by the totality of improvement of the subjugated masses. A contrary assertion would be viewing the history of the Filipino people with myopic Europocentric lenses, which is short of historical truth as well as of nationalistic sentiment.

History of Manila in International Crisis [*]

Conrad Myrick

May I give an introduction to my introduction? However, I assure you that I shall not double everything I say today.

Since 1957 I have sat among you and listened to profound papers and lectures, and learned much. A few times I wondered in my seat what it would be like to stand on this platform and speak. Now I know; I already wish I were sitting with you.

I am deeply honored by the Philippine Historical Association to be asked to be your Keynote speaker, knowing that any of you could do it better.

But I accepted, because it shall be my way of thanking this nation for giving me the opportunity of living in Greater Manila longer than any other place in my life, and being part of its life. And I am pleased that we meet today within the broken walls of ancient Intramuros.

Let me add, as well as a professor of History, I am a priest. Today is Saturday. Sunday I must be present at three masses, one solemn Vespers, give one sermon and participate in the capping ceremony of St. Luke's (Hospital) College of Nursing. Please, forgive me for not being able to reap the benefits of tomorrow's sessions. I regret it.

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[*] Lecture delivered at the Annual Convention of the Philippine Historical Association held at the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila on December 5, 1970.

This is the end of my introduction to my introduction.

The History of Manila has interested me since 1951. I have been able to produce two academic volumes on its history in twenty years. I began with 1570 and have finished up to 1856. At this rate of speed I wonder if I can finish the other two volumes I had originally planned?

In accordance with our theme: "Manila through the Centuries", from 1571 to 1971, I earnestly thought of what I should say as an introduction to the specific lectures which are to follow, to be given by capable men. Of whom may I mention two, Nicholas Zafra and Gabriel Fabella, long my mentors and friends, on the long road of research on the history of Manila.

I have chosen to speak on two generations of Manileños in the middle of its 400 years, from 1806 to 1856. From this center we can look backwards into Manila's origins and forward to its present. This period is concerned with Manila in the epoch of the international crisis of the industrial, social and political revolutions which ushered the world into its modern era, and Manila was vitally affected.

The similarities of that period with our present era of being ushered into an also changing world in similar adjustments may be of help to us now. I also hope that this choice of subject shall be of support to the more specific lectures which are to follow.

The text of this lecture is without footnotes, but is drawn from my doctrinal thesis, *Historia desde el ultimo Galeón hasta sus comienzos como Puerto Internacional en el Lejano Oriente,* at the University of Sevilla, which does have 564 footnotes and four tables drawn from 96 printed volumes and sets, and 51 *legajos* of original documents in the Archivo General de Indias. Every line of the text has a source although not indicated.

THE LAST GALLEON

Commerce between Manila and China antedates Spanish history in the Philippines. The distance between Manila and the China mainland is some 636 miles. This commerce was primarily between a triangle of cities, Manila in the South, Amoy to the North, and Canton to the Northwest. Both Canton and Amoy are separated from Manila by the South China Sea.

This trade was carried on by *los comerciantes chinos de viaje* or *Sangleyes*, from which Sangley Point received its name. When the Spaniards came to Manila in 1570, both Amoy and Canton were old cities of culture and industry, and Manila, a *pueblo* at the mouth of the Pasig River, and on its south bank.

Martin de Goiti and Juan Salcedo in 1570 in seeking Manila from Panay found at Mindoro Chinese junks carrying porcelain, iron, copper, wax, silk, gold thread, muslin and cotton. This was a foretaste of trade to come.

The quantity of Chinese goods was not only adequate for the needs of Manila, but sufficient for Spanish export. The first Spanish galleon to return from the Philippines to Nueva España, in the New World and from whence it came, was in 1565. For 250 years these vessels transhipped Chinese goods to Acapulco.

Trade with Japan was noted by the Spaniards shortly after the foundation of Manila. However, Manila's commerce with Siam, Cambodia, Malaya and the Moluccas was comparatively small, due mainly to Portuguese and Dutch threats and Spanish disinterest.

Commerce with Japan was important, but its history is different from that with China. The first Japanese recorded in Spanish-Philippine history in 1570, was one "Pablo", said to be a *cristiano*, and known to have been the *bombardero* of Soliman. In general the Japanese were different in character and temperament from the Chinese.

Between 1570 and 1639, the hegemony of the Tokugawa family led to the centralization of Japanese consciousness and to overseas trade on their own terms. Both the Spaniards and Japanese held fanatically to their own religions, in trade, and inspite of trade. This tension became one factor in Japan's long closed door policy.

Manila and Japan had a great variety of goods for exchange. Japan brought to the Philippines wheat, flour, salt, meat, fish, fruits, luxury articles, chests, cutlery, armour and lances. Their junks returned from Manila with gold, hides, woods, honey, wax, articles from Spain, and especially raw silk from China. But from 1638 to 1854, Japan closed its doors to the world and afterward persecuted its Christians behind those closed doors.

The commerce to and from Manila was governed by winds until the era of the steamship. The first recorded steamship to arrive in Manila was in 1847, called the *Reina de Castilla.* Manila was favoured by its prevailing winds.

The northeast *brisas* blew steadily across Manila from October to June, and were dry, bringing oppressive heat and dust. The southwest *vendavales* blew in the opposite direction bringing continuous rains with numerous typhoons, from June to November. Manila, located 15° north of the equator has never known cold weather.

The Chinese junks, and likewise the Japanese, came to Manila on the last *brisas* and returned on the early *vendavales.* The Manila galleons used the same winds for their trade with Acapulco. The word *junk* carries a consistent description, having a high stern and low prow, generally with a spoonshaped bottom, a hull divided into water-tight compartments, and it used lanteen sails spread by lateral slats of bamboo. The *galleon* was a general term for ships of war and commerce from the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. It too had a round hull, a high stern, inward sloping sides, a low bow, and had varied sails, which moved best before the wind. But although ships in time changed in their structure, for the Manila-Acapulco trade the term *galleon* is generally applied to all ships of this trade from 1565 to 1815.

Many early galleons of the Manila trade were built in Cavite and were cheaper to build there than those in the New World. The argument of which was best was never settled by the enthusiasts of each side.

The Manila galleons made one round trip a year to Acapulco, an *ida y vuelta.* On the *ida* the ship sailed, if possible, in June for Acapulco via San Bernardino Strait, north by Japan and across the Pacific high above Hawaii to the California coast and down to Acapulco. This six month trip never varied, and for that reason Manila missed discovering the Hawaiian Islands. The galleons endured incredible hardships and risks at sea, with molestation by the Dutch; and a few were captured by the British. The basic food for the galleon consisted of rice, lentiles, dried fish, and meat. But the greatest problem was sufficient fresh water, much of which had to come from northern rains, if and when they came.

The *vuelta*, or return, was less hazardous and strenuous, via the coast to the latitude of Panama and straight across the Pacific to San Bernardino. The voyage consumed about three months with a possible arrival in Manila in February.

Regardless of all obstacles, this line of ships, flying the royal banner of Spain, endured Pacific voyaging for 250 years. It still carries the longest continuous record of service of any single line in the history of navigation. The Manila galleon did not die a natural death; its life was terminated by law.

Between 1565 and 1800 Spain had no definite policy of commerce for the Philippines. The government listened more to the protests of the merchants of Sevilla and Cadiz than to the possibilities of the progress of Manila. The only consistent rule was that only one galleon a year could sail to Acapulco and make a profit of not more than 50% of the cost of the cargo.

Still for 250 years the galleon trade was the life-blood of Manila, and the merchants learned all the tricks of out-doing the strictures of regulations, for their own prosperity. Nevertheless a summary testimony in 1806 declared that the Manila-Acapulco trade made only a few rich and many poor. However the Church gained great profits in the lendings of funds from its *Obras Pias* as insurance against disaster and cargo risks. Also due to the control of shipping by the prevailing winds, Manila merchants worked during three months a year and relaxed for nine. If for nothing else the occupation was envious.

The Napoleonic invasion of Spain upset the Spanish monarchy and forced the Cortés of Cádiz into a cornered position of isolation in the Peninsula. Napoleon brought modernity painfully to Spain, while the *Cortés de Cádiz* tried to update the Spanish way of life under its control, also its commerce, and to give the colonies political representation. On the whole its efforts failed, because the restored King, Fernando VII, returned to absolute rule. However he did abolish on April 23, 1815, the Manila galleon which had been proposed by the Cortés. Toward the end of 1815 the last galleon, bearing the illustrious name *Magallanes*, returned to Manila and anchored forever near Cavite. Magellan brought the first galleons from Sevilla to the Philippines in 1521, and only one returned to Spain on September 8, 1522, bearing twenty-six and one-half tons of spice, but not a single grain of that spice came from the Philippines.

INTRAMUROS AND EXTRAMUROS

Until World War II, Manila, in all descriptions, was known for its varied classes of oriental boats and its solid enclosure by European walls. However the walls had an oriental cast. The plans were Italian. The builders were Spaniards. The foremen, workers, and masons were Chinese and Filipinos, none of whom had ever seen Spain. Therefore the final shaping of angles, corners and borders were orientalized as only the workmen knew how to shape them.

Psychologically, the orientalization of *criollo*, a pure Spaniard born here, was the same as building the walls, and this brought tension between the *peninsular* and *criollo* in polity and divided loyalty, as in all Spanish colonies.

The building of the walls was a science and history in itself, and cannot be described in this lecture. However until 1590 the walls were wooden stakes or *estacados*. Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas replaced them in stone in 1590, and their shape and area never changed.

The materials of the walls were *adobe* filled with a core of earth, with the embrasures and parapets faced with brick. The cost was defrayed by 2% tax on Chinese goods and 2% tax on Nueva España goods, plus a Spanish tax on playing cards, which has existed to this day. Philip II felt that he had spent enough on the walls for them to have extended from Manila to Madrid.

The six *baluartes* were named for the saints like San Gabriel and San Francisco. The entire landside installation was surrounded by a moat, and the west wall faced Manila Bay. The walls were never considered up-to-date, and the last appropriation for updating was in 1872, but was never carried out.

One of the keenest critics of the walls was William Stevenson, a British engineer, in 1762. He said the moat was poor and needed floodgates to utilize the tides for depths. The parapets should have been wood so that enemy fire would not result in defender-casualties, being hit by stone splinters from enemy balls. Only the British were able to pierce and enter the walls until World War II.

The dimensions of the walls were one kilometer and 30 meters from northeast to southeast; 695 meters on the west, with a clumsy triangular shaped circumference of four kilometers and 187 meters. These walls were heavily damaged during World War II, and the ruins of this unique historical monument of the Far East is being lost to the world through disinterest and lack of imagination.

From these walls come the terms of *Intramuros* and *Extramuros* or *los arrabales*. Until 1898 Intramuros was the Capital of the colony, seat of the Church and city of Spaniards. This city never bore another title but a native name, *Manila* from *Maynilad*, which most probably meant "much nilad", a low, flowering shrub.

Extramuros was a neighboring group of pueblos bearing place-names: Tondo, place of plántanos; Binondo, place of shrubs; Quiapo, watercrest; Tutuban, tuba trees; Nagtahan, end of the road; Paco, milkweed; Malate, ma-alat, salty-water.

Later newer barrios generally grouped around the parish church, bore Spanish names: San Nicolas, Santa Cruz, San Miguel, San Francisco del Monte, San Juan Bautista, Sta. Mesa, San Juan del Monte, Pandacan, Sta. Ana, Guadalupe, San Pedro de Makati, San Roque. Extramuros in 1805 had 100,000 souls, and in all, Extramuros and Intramuros, there were about 1,000 Spanish families.

In both areas many streets were identified by their major occupation. In Intramuros, for example, there were Calle de Palacio (Governor), de Arzobispo (Church), de Escuela (School), and Plaza de Armas (misnamed, being the central plaza of the city).

In Extramuros some of the occupational streets were Calle de Aceiteros (oil-sellers), de Aduana (custom-house), de Alcaicería (raw silk exchange) de Arroceros (rice-dealers), de Salinás (salts), de Toneléros (cooperers). The same carried in Tagalog also, for example, Baclarán (baklad, place of fish nets). The majority population of Extramuros were Tagalogs, then the Chinese, and the foreigners, who preferred to live near the Pasig and the bodegas.

The Chinese have been the majority minority group in all Manila's written history, with evidence that the Sangleys were here long before the first recordings. Their most noted institution was the Parián from 1581 to around 1860, located before the Parián Gate of Intramuros. It was a marvel of city blocks with a central lake for junks, and it contained silversmiths, shoemakers, boticas, barbers, artists, medicos, bookbinders, vegetable-stalls, bakers, butchers, candle-makers, egg-vendors, fish-stalls, food-servers, and from which went out ambulatory merchants. The prices were cheap and from small accumulated profits, wealth was created. Manila's first printed book, *Doctrina Cristiana,* was published for these people, in 1593.

Later the indigenious people of Manila will be considered, except to say here "the people of Philip", Filipinos, throughout the Spanish period were in general called *Indios,* although careful tribal distinctions were made like Tagalogs and Visayans in written records.

The development of Manila's harbor-system came late, and Cavite was the actual part of the galleons. It was nine miles southwest of Manila in a semi-enclosed area wherein the basin was called Cañacao Bay. Cavite was first called Kawit (meaning, hook, *anzuelo*). On the tip of this book was Sangley Point, where the Sangleyes anchored their junks during visits to Manila. Cavite was an early Spanish Naval Station and`arsenal which passed directly into the hands of the Americans in 1898.

MANILA FROM 1800 TO 1804

Historians date the modern age from the Industrial Revolution and Napoleonic Era. Thus, henceforth this lecture is on the beginnings of the modern age for Manila, using 1800 as a convenient date. It was a period of international crisis and change.

The following is a brief description of the city around 1800. The Audiencia, the Court, was connected to the Governor's Palace by a covered arch. This Palace, which had previously been confiscated from Eustasio de Venegas for known scandal, later rebuilt, was an adequate building for residence and audiences, using part of the ground-floor as a jail.

The Plaza de Armas was the center of the capital, and its corners pointed in the four directions of the compass. On the northeast was the Cabildo; on the southeast was the Cathedral with tower; on the southwest was the Governor's Palace and Audiencia; and on opposite side were private houses.

The Cathedral was founded in 1571 on its present site, and made a suffragan seat attached to the diocese of Mexico. Limahon burned it in 1574; it fell in an earthquake on November 30, 1645 and again in 1863; and was completely destroyed in World War II. Its present building was rebuilt on similar plans of 1671, and modernized.

The Cabildo, city officers, was founded in 1571, and was later awarded a coat-of-arms by Philip II, with the noble motto: *Ynsigne y Siempre Leal Ciudad de Manila,* ("the distinguished and always loyal city"), of the Nuevo Reino de Castilla. Around 1800, an Englishman said that the Cabildo building was the only building in the island which showed any kind of beauty.

In 1806 Father Martinez de Zuñiga said that the walls and moat were good. Intramuros was closed at night by lifting the drawbridge outside la Puerta de Parían. The walls and batteries were still Manila's defense and the primary fort of the islands was the Fuerza de Santiago, not named for the Patron of Spain, but a former Governor. Since the British occupation (1762-1764), the Puerto Real had been narrowed, and the people still spoke of the invasion as "the war." Now the Parían was the gate of ceremonial entrance for Church and State.

The buildings and institutions which had the title of "Royal" were the Almacenes, by the Pasig with a gate into Intramuros and the Hospital Real, for those in the King's service. The Cuartel de Dragones now using the ground floor of the Jesuit Convento and the Artilleros were in Colegio de la Compañia. The Capilla Real was in ruins.

Until World War II, Intramuros was known as a city of churches. In 1800, the early missionary orders were still important. Their work emanated from Intramuros.

The Augustinians who came in 1565, built the first stone church and convento in 1586 using the services of Antonio de Herrera, a relative of the Master of El Escorial, and which is the only surviving edifice in Intramuros. It is popularly known as San Agustin's but is dedicated to San Pablo.

The Franciscans who came in 1579 had the beautiful Church of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, and the extramuros Hospital of San Lazaro; there was also Santa Clara, with the sisters founded by Madre Jerónima in 1621. The Dominicans, coming in 1587, had the famous Church of del Rosario. The Jesuits came in 1581 and after extensive work were in expulsion from 1768 to 1857.

The Recolectos, having arrived in 1606 had an extramuros convento in *el Campo de Bagumbayan*, and likewise *La Orden Hospitalaria de San Juan de Dios*, which came soon afterwards.

Manila could boast of its educational institutions in 1800, with one university, three colleges and one seminary. The composition of its students were *españoles, indios, mestizos y sangleyes*. The University of Santo Tomás got its foundation in a gift of Archbishop Fray Miguel de Benavides in 1605, opened with twelve students in 1619, and became a university in 1645, with the title "royal" in 1785. The College of San Juan de Letran came into being in 1640 as the result of the noble work of Don Juan Jerónimo Guerrero with orphans, taken over by the Dominicans. For women there was Santa Potenciana founded in 1591, with the later title of *real* for *huérfanas* and day students at ₱5.00 per month, and Santa Isabel, founded in 1594 for Spanish *huérfanas*. In the nineteenth century co-education was in existence. The seminary was a joint effort in support, by 1806.

In 1800, seven state buildings and some twenty-one churches and their contingents occupied about one-third of the area of Intramuros.

The building of permanent residences in Manila rested on practical bases: Manila was a city of catastrophes; adobe stone was available, wood was easy to get; and protection from tropical heat and rains were necessary. Except between the years 1657 and 1761, every man of 45 years old in Manila could remember some major rebuilding of Intramuros and Extramuros, neccesitated by fire or natural catastrophe.

The Spanish were good hispanizers of local building, for example, the adaptation of Indian adobe into the Spanish mission architecture in the Californias. In Manila, the "Spanish" houses were the glorification, in stone and wood, of the nipa hut, with *adobe* taking the place of *sawali* and utilizing *capiz* shells for window glass. The loss and neglect of the few houses remaining today is a loss of national monuments. In 1806 the better houses rented for ₱300 to ₱400 a year.

By 1804 the status quo in Manila was not shaken. The principal commerce was with Acapulco. Foreign trade was regarded by the Spaniards as an economic threat. The Real Compañia de Filipinas of 1785 was given a new lease in 1803, but it never did well in the development of the country, and it became a wedge in opening Manila later as an international port. The Spanish population of Manila was about 3,000 souls.

SPAIN AND THE PHILIPPINES TO 1839

In Spanish colonial government all power emanated from the crown through the Consejo de Indias and its Leyes until 1790. The Spanish Borbones made changes with time although viceroyalties existed through all domains and during all periods.

As for the Philippines, the colony was a small part of the Spanish Empire and furtherest in distance from the Mother Country. The colony could have been important commercially, but never was; yet it was important as a field of church missions and as such highly favored by Spain. Its governor generals were a special class in the colonial system and functioned with some autonomy and with great power. Nevertheless, ecclesiastical tribunals played a great part in the unity of Church and State in the Islands.

The news of the capture of Fernando VII by Napoleon in 1809, brought a spontaneous response of loyalty to the King in the Philippines. The Spanish government in Cadiz brought about a drastic change in *estos y esos reinos* of the old system to a representative Cortés, set up by the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812. Although the Philippines was represented in three Cortés (1812, 1820, and 1834) nothing of great importance resulted for the country, nor was initiated by its representatives.

The Constitution was proclaimed in Manila on Easter Day, April 17, 1813, with great pomp and ceremony by both Church and State. It was translated into Ilocano, Tagalog and Pampango. It brought with it local confusion and misunderstanding as well as high hopes. However, all cortés were abolished by Fernando VII on his restoration in 1823.

Throughout Fernando's reign, although it was out of step with the changing times and international and colonial crises, Manila was loyal to him. The King died in September, 1833. When the news reached Manila, the Royal Requiem on July 15, 1834, was meticulous and profound, "en estos remotos dominios." Likewise, great plans were made for the proclamation of Doña Isabel II, a child, as Queen, with her mother Doña María Cristina as Regent. But the fiesta had to be suspended on account of the rains.

THE EPISCOPAL CITY

In 1803, Fray Zuñiga wrote categorically that the religion of Manila was Roman Catholic and no other was permitted, which was true until 1898. He said that no one could speak against it, and once a person became a Catholic, a foreigner, Spaniard or Mestizo, they were under the Holy Tribunal of Inquisition. However, the Archbishop dealt with the natives in matters of religion, and not the Tribunal.

The great pioneering missionary work of the Spanish friars deserve all commendation due to their fewness in number in relation to the vastness of the islands, and the results of their labors. The greatest concentration of Christians in the Islands was in Manila, whose population in 1813 was 30,000.

The Spanish Church authorities stood in great fear of "Calvinismo y Luteranismo", which brought vigilant guardianship for orthodoxy through the censure of foreigners and books. An Englishman said in 1822, that the friars keep the Philippines under a "theocracy" more than a monarchy.

The "Reyes Catòlicos" had direct patronage of, and felt a personal mission to the Church in the colonies, in which the Philippines had a special place. Spanish Borbones retained this same patronage which was modified from the era of conquest and foundation, to that of maintenance and expansion within the realms established.

The Islands continuously called for missionaries, and the authorities never felt that their numbers were sufficient. In 1808, Spain had 200,000 ecclesiastics, one for every 52 people; in the Philippines there were some 300 friars and 1,000 Filipino priests, one ecclesiastic for every 1,399 people.

Nevertheless, the Spanish government at this period determined to get returns from the Church's wealth in Spain, and this slowed down mission replacements in the Islands and curtailed funds. However, in both Church and State, the friars remained the bulwark of the Spanish regime in the Philippines until 1898.

The government and the Church was centered in Manila. Here and in the *arrabales* the Church ruled well, but not without problems. For example, there was a quarrel in the Binondo Church over where the *indios* and Chinese *mestizos* should sit. This lasted from 1741 to 1819 and was finally settled by placing the mestizos on the Epistle side of the Church.

In the Philippines the clergy composition consisted in secular priests, chaplains, curates, and religious of the various orders. The friars were at work in 13 provinces, on frontier areas and in China. The costs of Christianization was high and proportionate to the vast area, income was low. The hacienda system at this time was inadequate due to the drainage of income by the tenants.

Likewise, in the later eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, the problem of the secularization of parishes was acute in the Philippines. In the beginning despite the rule of the Council of Trent prohibiting orders from holding parishes, special papal indulgences were given missionaries in order to do so. But when does a mission become a parish? Likewise, when papal privilege was not revoked wherein did Episcopal visitation enter?

A third factor which added tension to the situation was the legislated replacement of friars in parishes with secular priests. The rapidity of this change caught many native priests not prepared for their tasks, especially between 1800 and 1837, despite the pros and cons for secularization. And the long process of change had not been attained by the end of the nineteenth century when the "propagandists" made secularization a battle cry.

Likewise, secularization was not a matter of Church only, but of State, because often civil authority also rested in the person of the friar, due to the shortage of Spanish officials. Finally, the whole situation was not eased by the international tensions of the Age of Revolution, Napoleonic Wars, and the inner political disturbance of Spain, in which the Philippines was affected.

The Manila Cathedral was the center of the Church and a position in it was of high importance. In 1800 its staff consisted in the dean, five dignitaries, three canons, and four assistants, all of whom were nominated by the King. These persons composed the Cabildo Eclesiástico and it ruled the Church when the Archepiscopal See was vacant. It was a representative group, members of whom had served the Church in far-flung parts of the Spanish Empire.

The Palace and the Cathedral were dual parts of the unity of State and Church. The unity on the whole worked well, but always there was the balance of final authority and precedence. Bishop and Governor, Ecclesiastical Cabildo and Civil Cabildo, from time to time were not always harmonious. Therefore, the Cathedral liturgical forms were intricate and delicate. But as in all the Spanish world, the high services of the Cathedral presented the *summum bonum* of authority spiritual and civil.

Much has been written on the multiplicity of Spanish fiestas. Manila was no exception. At this period there were one-hundred and one days of religious obligation blended with state affairs. Many of these were local, such as barrio fiestas.

The public fiestas involving Church and State were St. Andrew's day, the proclamations of King and Pope, the birthdays of the King and Queen, oaths to sovereigns, public entrances of the archbishops and governors. These affairs seriously interferred with many types of necessary work: agriculture, commerce, shipping, and especially with the sailing of ships.

MANILA AND COMMERCE

The port of Manila was on the eastern end of Manila Bay, which was 192 kilometers in circumstances, 45 kilometers from Manila to Corregidor, east and west, and 51 kilometers north and south. It was said that by the end of the nineteenth century, all the navy squadrons of Europe could maneuver in it at one time.

There was a sandbag at the mouth of the Pasig, but between the north *muelle* and the lighthouse on the south, the river was navigable up to the end of the walls. For improvement the government ordered a dredge in 1832, which did not arrive until 1837. Nevertheless, Manila was the best transhipping port in the Far East and still is, but at neither period has lived up to its potentiality.

Between 1800 and 1822, twenty years before the era of steam, there were seven types of local ships seen in the harbor, the *banca*, *panco*, *parao* and *casco*, *vinta*, *fausta*, *champan*, and *batel.* The foreign ships were the *navio, fragata, goleta, paquebote, bergantin, corbeta* and tne *nao.* In 1822, eighteen British ships, ten Americans, and twelve Chinese junks were counted in the port.

Of the commercial sections of the city from 1822 to 1856, Binondo was the most important. In it was the Administration of Wines and Liquors, and the Monopoly of Tobaccos. This industry was so extensive that in 1856, 7,000 girls were employed in the *fábrica.* In the first quarter of the century, copper coins were used to buy *cigarrillos,* many of which were counterfeited.

One day I discovered six of these coins in a *legajo* in the Archivo de Indias, and they are now on exhibition there.

Quiapo was the principal market, especially for rice-dealers; Sampaloc was known for printing and publishing; and Las Piñas for making salt in the method of Cádiz, Spain. La Calle de la Escolta was similar to la Rambla in Barcelona, French *tiendas* were said to be the most tasteful and attractive.

Manila continued to grow as an oriental port after 1815, while Acapulco, without the Manila galleon became a small tropical Mexican port, but Manila's obstacles were multiple.

Port cities are known for the multiplicity of foreigners. One writer said Manila inhabitants consisted of "chinos, etipoes, malayos, españoles, portugueses, mestizos." In general the Spaniards were critical of foreigners, of which the Swiss, the Danes, English, Americans, French and Armenians were desirous of trade, but they found it difficult to pursue in Manila.

De Guignes said in 1796 that the Spanish rules for listing cargo articles, storage, arrastre, and customs were so complicated and slow, that if twenty ships arrived it would take a year to unload them. Also that one would be lucky not to have the monsoons come and change the winds before one could sail.

There were about ten Chinese to every Spaniard in Manila. The Chinese were uncomfortable necessities to the Spaniards and the envy of the *naturales*. Father de la Costa said: "The Chinese immigrant was always a stranger, a man who would talk with a person in the market, but otherwise would talk his own language, guarded his own counsel and worshipped his own gods; also was inscrutible, suspicioned always and sometimes killed. Much that the Spaniards and Filipinos believed about the Chinese was absurd and equally the same on the part of the Chinese who were on the other side of the cultural barrier."

The Peninsular Spaniard was always haughty even to his *criollo* kin. Also the Peninsulares were divided among themselves according to the regions of their birth in Spain, yet to the world they all proclaimed themselves as Spaniards.

The foreigners were not always merchants in Manila; some were men of science and of medicine. The massacre of the foreigners in Manila on October 9, 1820, was the darkest and most unsatisfactorily explained event in Spanish history here. An epidemic of cholera was blamed on foreigners polluting the water of Manila. The inertia and unwillingness of Spanish authorities to stop the massacre caused a Russian diplomat to say that he would take Siberia to "such inhuman, unliberal, anti-Christian race of men." In 1834, John Wise wrote that those killed were not allowed burial in the cemeteries.

In regards to commercial agriculture in the islands, it was a disappointment on the whole. The Real Compañía de Filipinas failed in this development through unrealistic plans and overextension. The Sociedad Econòmica de Amigos del País did much in the epoch but not enough for real success. Yet the land was fertile with rare droughts and plagues. After the Jesuits' expulsion many agriculture projects were abandoned.

Nevertheless, Manila in its peculiar location did not need more than its neighboring areas for its necessities of life, and showed an apathy toward the rest of the country's agricultural development at this time. Its surrounding crops were rice, corn, sugarcane, zacate, buyo, peanuts, fruits, vegetables, garden plants, potatoes, melons, ducks, chickens, turkeys, fish culture, and sawali.

Commercial lists of 1848, 1856, and 1899 show the same lists of exports except for rice. Rice, consisting of 23 types of "mountain" rice and 12 types of "lowland" rice, was being exported in 1800, but was in rapid decline after 1848, until none at all in export value.

Manila's lists of exports taken from 1946 include hemp, mother-of-pearl, turtle shells, coffee, hides, hide cuttings, carabao horns, cloth, and hats. And as stated the crown monopolies on tobacco and rum were profitable but never magnified to Luzon's capacity to produce them.

Manila's land transportation and communication rested on its island of Luzon. All else with the islands was by sea. Roads were hard to maintain in the tropics in this era. Although postal service was ordered in 1766, it did not become a reality until 33 years later, when postal messengers made weekly trips from Manila to Laguna, Batangas, Tayabas, Camarines and Albay. Indefinitely scheduled services went to Bulacan, Pampanga, Pangasinan and Ilocos. Likewise, produce-hauling was uncertain beyond the Manila area.

Until the nineteenth century Manila was practically a closed port except to oriental trade. By 1825, Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines were all that was left of Spain's world-wide empire. The modern age began to force open Manila's port to foreign residents and trade. Between 1820 and 1830 four foreign consulates were realities. In 1850, seven ports were opened to foreign trade, all of which were closed the next year. In 1837, Manila became an international port, yet hemmed in with many restrictions.

Banking came late in Manila's history, and up until 1815 the Obras Pias had a monopoly in lending money. The first bank in Manila was founded in 1835 by a Spaniard, turned British in citizenship and Quaker in religion. When he died he left his fortune to the dependents of the casualties of the Crimean War; he was Francisco Rodriguez. The Banco Español Filipino was conceived in 1828, but was not inaugurated until 1851.

The money in use in Manila in 1805 was the *peso* of eight *reales*. A *real* was about 30 centavos today. There was also the *doblon*, both silver and gold, and the *grano*. In 1810, the *peso duro de plata* was known as the pillar-dollar, long known in the Orient, but now basic in western houses of commerce. There is mention in 1822 of the *medio dolar*, the *peseta*, equalled to four reales *vellón*, and the *céntimo*. By 1834 *cuartos de cobre* were in extensive circulation. There were additional money units in the provinces like the *malon* (cloth) and *petís* (copper).

By 1842, there were 39 Spanish houses of commerce, seven English, two Americans, one French, and one Danish in Manila. It is difficult to ascertain exact figures on importatation and export for Manila during this period. The documents were often contradictory and contraband was usual, of which no estimate could be made. Nevertheless, the records and lists concerning commerce show growth for Manila in international trade at this time.

LIFE AMONG MANILANS

Manila and its envious which now cover Greater Manila was said to have in 1814, 84,818 inhabitants in all: 53,571 persons in Binondo, Tondo, Santa Cruz, San Sebastian, San Miguel, San Anton, and Sampaloc; 23,244 people in Ermita, Malate, Santa Ana, Pandacan, San Pedro de Makati, San Fernando, Santiago, Dilao, Peña de Francia, San Juan del Monte, and 8,000 inhabitants in Intramuros, excluding armed forces. These areas were long independent but the growth of all drew them together, and brought the confusion of streets of the same name. Twenty-three years later, 1837, John Wise estimated that there were 40,000 souls in Intramuros and 160,000 in Extramuros, making a total of 200,000 persons.

The reconciliation of these various counts during these years would be a study in itself, yet superficially they indicate a steady growth of the area. But a study of the weather accounts in 1822, with a mean low of 70°F and a mean high of 90°F, and rarely over, compares favorably with a ten-year modern study (1960) of weather at Sangley Point. Manila weather has been rather consistent for some 138 years. With such a basis, public services can be planned in general to meet the welfare of citizens. However, Manila has a long history of fires during the dry seasons and a deterioration of public services, especially streets, during the rainy season, primarily by not taking advantage of natural drainage and weather resistant materials.

The two unpredicable elements were earthquakes and typhoons. Nevertheless, preparation and construction can minimize these. Zuñiga pointed out, how the stone building of San Agustin's church and convent took the earthquake factor into account as early as 1586, and the structure continues to endure today.

The development of modern public services in Manila was introduced by Governor General Aguilar, 1793 to 1806. He built the permanent road from Manila to Cavite, bettered the police-system, organized home industries, lighted Manila streets with oil lamps in 1796, paved the sidewalks of Intramuros with China granite (adobe was too soft), instituted public smallpox vaccination, and set up in 1809 the *Aviso al Público* for public tranquility.

In 1826, Governor Ricafort set up a system of internal security and defense, and a good government program. Among the articles of good government were: no profanity, no obscene songs, no games of chance or cockfighting, no minors in bars nor workers during working hours, and no fabrication of arms and knives. There was a curfew at midnight and individual identification must be made at night on the request of authority. Likewise, parents were responsible for the acts of their children; the streets must be free of vendors; and fireworks were prohibited; all private dances must end at midnight. Likewise, each householder must water his half of the street during the dry season to keep down the dust.

In the first half of Manila's modern age there are several descriptions of the life of its people. First, Nathaniel Bowditch, a traveller, mentioned a cup of chocolate for breakfast and dinner at noon, with a siesta until three o'clock.

Fray Zuñiga wrote that on the whole food was cheap. The noon meal generally consisted of a pot of beef, pork and green vegetables; then fowl or other meat; fruit and cake. He said the women generally prefer rice to bread, which they usually ate with their fingers, making it necessary to wash their hands before and after eating. Before 1806 wine was rarely drunk, but at this time wine was used, mixed with water. Chocolate was commonly taken after siesta. Supper was generally taken around ten or eleven at night.

An Englishman, in 1822, gave the most critical and best description of Manila's day: people rise between six and seven in the morning. The men dressed in pants with shirt outside until about 9 o'clock, after which they dress to dictate letters, and then take their coach to the city for business. Dinner was at noon followed by siesta until 4 o'clock, after which chocolate was served. Then the *paseo* was taken by coach until 6 or 7 o'clock. From seven o'clock in the evening visitors were received at home until 11 o'clock, followed with midnight supper.

In 1856, Mr. Ellis, a British naval officer, described his hotel in Extramuros: the smell of the stables in the *patio* was strong; the rooms were small, and the bath consisted of a shower in a tub. In the morning a cup of thick chocolate was taken, always followed by a glass of water. Breakfast was generally taken by foreigners whom he noted were French, German and American ship's officers. Lunch was "more dinner" with potatoes, beer and wine added to the menu, than a lunch.

Likewise, the above writer described a visit to an estate in Santa Ana on the Pasig. The family rose early for a walk, ride or horseback ride while the air was cool and fresh; then about six o'clock, chocolate was served. Dinner came between 10 o'clock and noon, with supper around seven o'clock. He spoke of good food, especially of ducks, geese, lettuce, green peas, and desserts of inevitable sweets. Visitors were served after dinner cigars or betel nut. Finally, he was impressed by the abundance of ice brought by Americans ships which could be gotten in Manila, in 1854, during the month of June.

Zuñiga's and Ellis' descriptions of Manila's day were about people with "decent living" and "sufficient luxury." The cost of foodstuffs at the beginning of the nineteenth century was based on one real which today is 30 centavos. A pound of bread was 15 centavos, a bushel of rice was ₱2.40; seven pounds of beef was 30 centavos, with pork a little less and fish even less. A chicken, pigeon or game bird was 8 centavos each; however, mutton and turkeys sold "most dear", but goat was little eaten by the *naturales* or Spaniards .

The buyer had to watch their purchases for value and content. One had to watch that meat was sold at a just price, that bakers did not short the weight of bread, that candle wax was not adulterated, and against other tricks practiced on the public. Three other household factors were: first, many servants were necessary because they were "lazy", and they were said "to waste more than they ate." Second, a clever householder could often get most foodstuffs free as interim-extra interests on annual loans to the suppliers. Third, for nine out of ten inhabitants, including foreigners, rice was the staple food.

The people of the streets were described as the *naturales*.

The men, generally lank, wore shirts outside their trousers which were often tucked up to the knees. A hat generally and at times a handkerchief was worn round their heads. And the inevitable game cock was seen preened with attention and affection. The average girls were attractive except for "betel teeth"; their noses were small and rather flat, and nearly all had magnificent long, black hair. All were fond of water and bathing.

The people generally married before 20, and in Manila in church. There was a fondness for gambling and *gallos*. There was a Malay tendency to run "amok." And the people aged early. The dominant group in Manila were Tagalogs.

The Filipino soldiers obeyed rules to the letter of the law and obeyed rather amorally in the use of firearms. In 1856, the *tropas indios* were described good against the *moros* but not against the *tulisanías*. They were small of muscle and bone, and quite military in bearing, well drilled and well dressed.

Although Manila looked shabby and flat from the sea surrounded by a verdant green landscape, the interiors of better homes were different, with their mirrors, chanderliers, and *tout ensemble* of furniture and fittings which were as excellent as Europe's and showed solidarity, coolness, freedom, ease and charm.

Manila diversions consisted of afternoon walks, social gatherings and conversation with men on one side and women on the other, card games, much food, but because of the heat few dances were given. Manila's elite took the *calzada de la Luneta*, where drills and music were presented. In the country, on the river, during vacation, mixed family bathing was common. Men and women smoked.

Manila had over 500 carriages, also gigs, and open carriages at this time for transportation, although saddle horses were scarce. Many carriages were imported from Europe and one's carriage carried status.

On the whole Spanish hospitality was punctilious and polished; mestizo and middle class at name's day parties and social affairs were gracious and attentive to guests, and youth enjoyed their dancing. The girls were cloy and clever with their dress, hair and ornaments.

The matter of dress generally depended on the class of society in which one found himself, whether European clothes, or orientalized dress. However, few women wore powder, and only rarely did they favor European gowns. Their general hair dress was in a knot gathered by ornaments; and pendants, necklaces and rings were customary as well as a display of family treasures.

The Filipino love of music was great. Religious customs were relevant to life from baptism and prayers to funerals; they were practised with reverence, love, devotion and at times with superstitions. As Manila became more international the Catholics constantly asked visitors, "Are you Christian or Protestant."

Out of the Spanish theatre grew the native theatre from intermission acts with keen humor, subtle irony and excellent ability to imitate characters. And from Spanish *caballerías* developed the Filipino *moros*.

TOWARD THE FUTURE

The two generations just described of Manila's history between 1806 and 1856 were only two in four centuries. But they were the inheritors of over two centuries of Manila's history of Filipino-Chinese-Japanese-Spanish relations. They were also the founders of modern Manila.

They were the inheritors of much overcoming, such as Limahong's attack, Dutch threats, a British occupation, rebellions; enduring trade restrictions, experiencing the good and bad of colonial administration; surviving earthquake, fire and flood. But the city endured and grew.

Nevertheless, these two generations, regardless of their history, had to face their own day. They became involved in the international crisis of the industrial, social and political revolutions which ushered the world into the modern age. And these people laid Manila's modern foundation.

In it all, there were positive and negative factors: for example, Manila has always been enclosed in walls, physical and personal. Intramuros was enclosed in stone and also enclosed by its own social and political circles. However, Extramuros grew and became what made Intramuros important, and when it was no more, Extramuros was the Manila which endured.

Manila today is enclosed in a solid wall of independent municipalities, of competitive and growing importance, a fact which might repeat the history of Intramuros, or may produce an inter-urban unity and pride and turn the whole to greatness.

Also, in comparison with other great cities of the world, Manila has often been on the verge of greatness from its foundation, but never quite achieved it. This possibility is yet to be.

On the positive side, a city is a group of people living in a given locality, either producive of progress or not. Manila, despite one early Governor's comment that it was "too hot, too low and to narrow," stands at the crossroads of southeast Asia, protected from the troubles of a mainland by an island citadel.

Manila's flat area is conducive of great air transport; its noble bay is capable of harboring the world's greatest ships; its tropical climate has more advantages than disadvantages; its surrounding lands are rich; its waterfront union with the city is near and pleasant; its shoreline and scenery ask no peer.

But a city is also people; its kind of people make it. Manila's people have lived together for 400 years. Therefore, let me close with two questions. Our dates of celebration are justifiably 1571 to 1971, but this Manila was built on another Manila which had long existed. First, when did Manila really begin as a place of habitation? Second, what kind of a Manila shall it be, after we are gone?

Manila–From the American Occupation to the Present

Gregorio C. Borlaza

THE PERIOD assigned to me, which is from the American Occupation to the present, started at the turn of the century. Although Manila was occupied by the Americans on August 13, 1898, it was not until 1901 that it got its first mayor under the American regime in the person of Arsenio Cruz Herrera[2] who governed it from 1901 to 1905. Since then, Manila has had 14 mayors, the other thirteen being Felix Ma. Roxas (1905-1917), Justo Lucban (1917-1920), Ramon Fernandez (1920-1924), Miguel Romualdez (1924-1927), Tomas Earnshaw (1927-1933), Juan Posadas, Jr., (1934-1940), Eulogio M. Rodriguez (1940-1941), Juan Nolasco (1941, 1945-1946), Leon Guinto (1942-1944), Valeriano Fugoso (1946-1947), Manuel de la Fuente (1948-1951), Arsenio H. Lacson (1952-April 1962, and Antonio J. Villegas (1962 to the present). It will be interesting for the historian to look into the major accomplishments of each administration; to compare the achievements of those who stayed long in office like Felix Ma. Roxas and those who stayed there for only one or two years, in proportion to the length of time they held the mayoralty.

It is one of the paradoxes of Philippine political development that long after the semi-literate masses in the rural areas

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* Paper read at the Annual Convention of the Philippine Historical Association held at the Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila on December 6, 1970.

** The correct name is Arsenio H. Cruz, according to Mayor Villegas, Herrera being the mother's family name.

were permitted to elect their own municipal presidents the mayors of Manila were still appointed, first by the Governors General, later by the President of the Philippines. It was not until 1952 that Manila had its first elective mayor in the person of Arsenio H. Lacson. It will be interesting for the historian and the political scientist to look into the advantages and disadvantages of the shift from appointive to elective mayors in this city.

Manila has seen many significant changes during the last seventy years. At the beginning of the century it was often visited by cholera epidemics; now it is one of the healthiest cities in Asia in spite of the garbage problem, outmoded water and sewerage systems, and the presence of slum dwellers in a few places like Tondo and the banks of such esteros as have not been filled by the government or grabbed by some smart people. The districts that used to be filled with nipa houses are now occupied by modern residential houses and commercial establishments. The architectural landmarks of the 3-1/3 centuries of Spanish rule in Intramuros have been wiped out during the liberation of Manila, except for San Agustin Church which miraculously survived. The ruins of Fort Santiago and the restored Cathedral provide but a faint idea of what this Spanish city away from Spain used to be. Elsewhere, at the Escolta, Binondo, and other areas, they have either been destroyed by fire or given way to modern commercial houses to meet the needs of the changing times.

Construction of big, tall and modern buildings was slow during the first quarter of the century. The Philippine General Hospital and the Philippine Normal School which bear some characteristics of Spanish architecture in their tile roofing are two of the few buildings erected during this period. In the early 1920's the old Spanish buildings were still there, even at the Escolta. It was in the second quarter that the construction of big buildings, like the Legislative Building, the Post Office, the City Hall, the Metropolitan Theatre, the Finance Building, and the Agriculture Building took place. Most of these buildings, it will be noted, were of classical Greek architecture, beautiful to behold from the outside, but dark, uncomfortable, and not functional inside. Subsequent constructions, especially those after the war, have emphasized functionalism, simplicity of lines, and economy of space. Some fine examples of postwar buildings are those along Roxas Boulevard, Hilton Hotel, Phil-Am Life Insurance building, the National Library, and many others.

It will also be noted that these pre-war buildings are not tall. City Engineer Artiaga refused to permit the construction of tall buildings because, so he said, the foundation of Manila is sandy and weak, and tall buildings would be in danger of toppling over during earthquakes. Modern engineering techniques have since made it possible to erect, even on the sandy shore of Manila Bay, along Roxas Boulevard, baby skycrapers which have survived the earthquake which wrecked the much-lower Ruby Tower. Recently we were told by some top officials of Meralco that it would be dangerous to bury that company's electric wires in Manila because the city is often subject to flood. This opinion is based, however, on a 1935 feasibility study. Much progress has since been made in electrical engineering. Perhaps, before the century is over, the example of Rizal Park and Buendia Avenue will have been followed all over the city and we shall look back to this Meralco claim with the same mixture of understanding and amusement with which we are now recalling Mr. Artiaga's opposition to the construction of tall buildings.

Manila has always been the main center of learning in the Philippines. Padre Faura used to be the site of the State University. The university moved to Diliman after the war, leaving its ruined buildings and taking with it the Oblation, but it was soon replaced by FEU, UE, and other big universities which have attained giant propertions in size of enrolment, if not in quality of instruction, and Manila has added to them the first free university in the Philippines, the Pamantasan ng Maynila. On the elementary and secondary levels the pre-war standard of education in the city has somehow been adversely affected by the lack of classrooms which has forced the city schools to adopt what is known as the emergency program in which two or three shifts of classes use the same rooms. An impressive school building program in the 1960's has improved the situation a bit, but sooner or later the problem of school housing will become very acute once more because of the high cost of real estate and the rapid rate of population increase. One possible hope may be found in the proposed reclamation along the shores of Manila Bay for housing projects, if a substantial portion of the reclaimed area will be allocated to public schools.

Manila, during the last decade, has been pioneering in free education from the elementary to the university. If the incumbent mayor had his way, Manila would also have free water and no real property tax on residential houses and lots. One wonders if it would be good for the people in the long run, if they had so many things given them *gratis et amore.*

The public school teachers of Manila have made history by going on mass leave of absence to enforce their demand for more adequate pay. Their example has recently been followed by the school teachers of Angeles City. It is bound to spread sooner or later to the rest of the country. One many think it a pity that pragmatic considerations have forced the teachers to abandon the idealism for which they have been well known. But as in Manila, the pupils and their parents and the public in general, in the rest of the country, will understand and support these overworked and underpaid public servants in their struggle for just and decent compensation.

The *calesa* was the chief means of transportation in Manila at the start of the century. Automobiles were very few when they began to appear. Up to the outbreak of the war their use was limited to the rich and the high government officials. The *trambia* provided the fastest means of transportation for the masses, but they covered only a few specific streets, so the *calesa* was the most important vehicle for the average Manilan. Since liberation the *calesa* has been gradually replaced by the jeepney, a Philippine modification of the U.S. Army jeep, by the bus, and by the taxicab. Even the *trambia* has been crowded out of existence. But the people are unhappy about traffic jams and trip-cutting jeepney drivers. The jeepney drivers are in turn unhappy about tong collectors and avaricious jeepney owners. A projected monorail system seems to offer some hope of relief for the commuting public, but like Doubting Thomas, the public has to see it operate before it can be convinced.

The Manila Police Department used to be acclaimed before the war as Manila's finest. It still has many fine gentlemen in its ranks, but rightly or wrongly, justly or unjustly, the image of the MPD has been tarnished by the venalities of a few who have, according to newspaper reports, been mulcting poor jeepney drivers, and tolerating if not protecting gambling dens and houses of vice. Likewise, the good image of the fine public servants in the Manila Fire Department has been tarnished by a few unscrupulous members who have been accused in the newspapers of looting instead of fighting fires and turning fire hoses in the direction of houses whose owners could pay the most. The impairment of the image of the MPD has lessened its effectiveness in handling student activism which erupted in 1969 and has been gathering intensity and momentum since then.

Traditionally, in politics, Manila has been an oppositionist city, perhaps because it is so close to the seat of power in the national government and it can hear the whispered transactions between corrupt officials and their corruptors, as well as the idle talk of scandal mongers. Or perhaps it is because Manila is saturated with newspapers and tabloids which have seen their circulation soar in proportion to the number and magnitude of the scandals they can print in glaring headlines. At any rate Manila has been apparently punished for this oppositionist tendency in the form of frequent amendment of its charter to clip the powers of its mayor, withholding of revenue taxes due it to embarrass the oppositionist city administration, and the like, so it has been claimed.

A recent news item said that if the present rise in temperature continues, the polar icecaps will melt and all coastal cities the world over will be under water in about a thousand years. The recent floods seem to indicate that Manila is not willing to wait that long. As usual lack of harmony and coordination between the national and the city governments has been hampering flood-control efforts. Will Manilans be willing to toe the political line so they can share with the rest of the world the experience of watching the polar icecaps melt, or will they hold on to their political convictions, happen what may?

The political problems of Manila are not limited to its relationship to the national government. There is also the perennial conflict between the mayor's office and the municipal board. The incumbent mayor has some plan for solving this problem through the institution of a commission form of government. The public is interestedly waiting for the details of the plan.

Manila has many other problems. It has had many frustrations. But it has plenty of hopes. The beautification of the Luneta has spawned the idea of creating a beautiful tourist belt around it. It has inspired the beautification of Fort Santiago, Paco Cemetery, Pandacan, Tondo, and many other places. The Quiapo underpass, followed by those near the City Hall and at the Quezon-Recto intersection, has inspired similar plans for Plaza Lawton and other busy intersections. Many children's playgrounds, poetically named Paraiso ng Batang Maynila, have been completed; many more are on the drawing boards. Slum clearance has been started in Intramuros, from which squatters have been moved to Sapang Palay; it will be pursued in Tondo and wherever there are squatters and slum dwellers. It is planned to construct parking places in the Old Bilibid compound and, at certain points, across the Pasig River. Clean modern markets will replace the stinking ones in Quiapo, Sampaloc, Paco, Divisoria, and other districts. A city cultural center will be built in Intramuros to supplement the Pamantasan ng Maynila. The breadth and loftiness of vision seem unlimited, although the implementation may be hampered by political bickerings and the reported dissipation of city funds through excessive allowance sand excess personnel in some of its government branches.

Perhaps the recent visit of the Holy Father may add to the moral and spiritual dimensions of the city's development programs. His visit to three symbolic places in Tondo—to a poor man's home, a vocational school, and a church—may hopefully serve as a reminder that the cooperative efforts of these three basic agencies are needed for the success of these programs, and that the said programs should aim not only at the physical and material, but also at the social, moral and spiritual well-being of the people.

Manila has time and again demonstrated its resiliency and durability. When the national government moved the capital to a newly built city in its suburbs; when the State University was transferred to Diliman; when industry moved out to Quezon City, Rizal, Bulacan, and other nearby provinces, and when business offices moved to the plush office buildings in Makati; people thought Manila would wilt and eventually die. Instead, all these areas of expansion have been lumped together and called the Greater Manila area. An international airport located in Pasay and Parañaque has been officially called Manila International Airport, and a university in Caloocan City bears the name Manila Central University. Manila has not wilted and died. It has become greater. A city as resilient and as durable as this may be expected to tackle successfully the problems which confront it on its 400th anniversary, as well as those which it is bound to meet in the next four hundred or the next four thousand years.

Manila – Center of the Revolution

Emiliano L. Laus

ACTUALLY we have various definitions and interpretations of a revolution. Thus mechanically revolution is the rotation about an axis or any winding or turning about of an axis as in a spiral or other bend. Astronomically revolution refers to the movement of a planet around the sun or any celestial body around a center of attraction. Historically, however, revolution pertains to the extensive and radical overthrow of the government and its replacement by another political and economic system. For the purpose of this discussion this definition, meaning the overthrow of the government and its replacement by another system, will be followed. I should state at the outset that my discussion of rebellion and revolution with Manila as center will be confined mainly during the Spanish regime.

When we talk of the Philippine revolution of 1896, which centered in Manila, we are reminded of the overthrow of the Spanish government and its replacement by the shortlived Philippine republic under the presidency of Emilio Aguinaldo. When we talk of the English revolution that broke out in 1642, we refer to the overthrow of the English absolute monarchy and its replacement by the Commonwealth government characterized by the supremacy of the parliament under the competent leadership of Oliver Cromwell. When we talk of the American revolution of 1776, we refer to the downfall of mercantilism and the

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overthrow of the British colonial regime and its replacement by the republic of the United States of America under the skillful presidency of George Washington. When we talk of the French revolution that broke out in 1789, we infer the overthrow of absolutism and feudalism and its replacement by a system characterized by liberty, equality, and fraternity under the inspiration of Napoleon Bonaparte. When we talk of the Chinese revolution that broke out in 1911, we ascribe to the corrupt Manchu dynasty and its replacement by the Chinese republic under the able guidance of Sun Yat Sen. Finally, when we talk of the Russian revolution that broke out in 1917, we are reminded of the overthrow of Czarism and Russian imperialism and its replacement by the Supreme Soviet Republics characterized by Marxism, Bolshevism, and Communism under the guidance and inspiration of Nicolay Lenin.

If Manila, being the capital of the Philippines, was the center of the Philippine revolution, we also locate London, Boston or Philadelphia, Paris, Peking, and Petrograd as the centers of the English, the American, the French, the Chinese, and the Russian revolutions, respectively. It can therefore be said that the great changes and revolutions of the world occurred and centered in the metropolis of the great nations of the world.

In this connection Manila was not only the center of revolution but the whole country became the hotbeds of revolts, rebellions, insurrections, and mutinies. Said rebellions and revolts were organized efforts to defy or overthrow the Spanish authorities, but unsuccessful otherwise they would have become revolutions.

It is interesting to note that not less than one hundred revolts and insurrections occurred throughout the three hundred years of the Spanish regime. The longest was the Dagohoy rebellion which lasted for eighty-five years, 1644-1729; whereas the shortest of these revolts was the Novales mutiny in 1823, which was disposed of by the Spanish authorities within twenty-four hours. These insurrections were indeed significant because they revealed and manifested the longings and the cravings of the Filipino people for liberty, freedom and independence.

The causes of the revolts may be divided into political, economic, religious, and agrarian: political in the sense that the Filipino people desired for the restoration of their ancient system of government like the Lakan-Dula's revolt of 1574; economic in the sense that they wanted to be ecancipated from the hated tributes and forced labor, like the Pampango revolt of 1660; religious in the sense that they wanted to go back to their ancient religion like the Tamblot revolt of 1621; and agrarian in the sense that they longed to get back their old lands taken by the Spanish religious corporations through shady deals, like the Batangas revolt during the 18th century.

Among the revolts that were either plotted or masterminded in Manila were the Lakan-Dula conspiracy of 1574, the Diego Silang rebellion of 1763, the Novales mutiny of 1823, and the Cavite revolt of 1872. Lakan-Dula, the old chieftain of Tondo, Manila, who cooperated with Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in the capitulation of Manila bitterly resented the shameless treatment accorded to him by Guido de Lavezares, successor of Legaspi. He, therefore, conspired a rebellion against the Spanish authorities coinciding it with the Chinese invasion of the Philippines led by Lim Ha-hong. The conspiracy, was, however, averted when he (Lakan-Dula) was granted personal conscessions.

The Diego Silang rebellion was actually worked out and masterminded in Manila, because Diego Silang, being a trusted mail-carrier between Manila and Vigan, was stranded in the city during the British occupation (1762-1763). It was here in the City of Manila that he, with the advice of some Filipino rebels like Orendain, schemed a plot to overthrow the Spanish sovereignty. Knowing the weakness of the Spanish forces owing to the presence of the British army and navy and convinced of the Spanish maladministration, he carried out his plot and led a successful insurrection in the Ilocos provinces. His success, however, was shortlived because he was treacherously assassinated.

The Novales mutiny of 1823 flared up in Manila owing to racial discrimination against the Mexican-Spanish army officers in favor of Peninsular Spaniards. This was the repercussion of the Mexican revolution which overthrew the Spanish sovereignty and proclaimed the Mexican independence in 1821. This mutiny which was led by Captain Andres Novales was indeed the shortest uprising recorded in the annals of Philippine history because Novales was outlawed at midnight, proclaimed emperor at two o'clock in the morning, and shot at five in the evening.

Undoubtedly, the Cavite revolt of 1872 which was planned in Manila and led by Sergeant La Madrid was of paramount significance because of the secularization controversy which was then raging at the time. It was precipitated by the reactionary policies of Governor General Rafael de Izquierdo and it was easily suppressed without any armed repercussions from the provinces. In other words, it was just a local incident but the Spanish authorities magnified it and made it appear that the mutiny was a huge and widespread conspiracy in order to overthrow the Spanish sovereignty and that it was masterminded by the leading Filiipno secular priests.

Consequently many prominent Filipinos were executed, imprisoned, or deported either to the Marianas or to other distant isolated lands. The most outstanding victims of this tragedy were the three martyr Filipino priests—Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora. Dr. Jose Rizal dedicated his well-known novel *El Filibusterismo* to these three martyr Filipino priests in this wise:

> To the memory of the priests, Don Mariano Gomez (85 years old), Don Jose Burgos (30 years old), and Don Jacinto Zamora (35 years old). Executed in Bagumbayan Field on the 28th of February, 1872.
>
> The Church, by refusing to degrade you, has placed in doubt the crime that has been imputed to you; the government, by surrounding your trials with mystery and shadows, causes the belief that there was some error, committed in fatal moments; and all the Philippines, by worshipping your memory and calling you martyrs, in no sense recognizes culpability. In so far, therefore, as your complicity in the Cavite mutiny is not clearly proved, as you may or may not have been patriots, and as you may or may save have cherished sentiments for justice and for liberty, I have the right to dedicate my work to you as victims of the evils which I undertake to combat. And while we await expectantly upon Spain some day to restore your good name and cease to be answerable for your death, let these pages serve as tardy wreath of dried leaves over your unknown tombs, and let it be understood that every one who without clear proofs attacks your memory stains his hands in your blood!

What a noble, exalted, and inspirational dedication to GOMBURZA. By the refusal of the Church to degrade the three priests, Rizal meant the refusal of Archbishop Gregorio Meliton Martinez to unfrock their priestly habits before their executions. In fact the Archbishop ordered the tolling of the church bells when they were executed as a farewell salute to the departing souls of the martyrs. "The government by surrounding your trials with mystery and shadows," Rizal meant that their trial was a mockery. For example when Father Burgos was being tried by the military court, his counsel a certain Jose Arieta instead of depending him stated in the open court that his client has confessed that he was guilty. Taken aback by the perfidy and treachery of his lawyer, Father Burgos exclaimed, "I have not confessed for I am not guilty! That is not my defense—the gentleman (pointing to Arieta) has changed it. I deny all the charges against me. They have no foundation in fact and in law." "All the Philippines, by worshipping your memory and calling you martyrs in no sense recognizes your culpability," Rizal meant that the three priests were innocent so the Filipino people were stunned for the martyr priests were the victims of misrepresentation and character assassination.

Actually, however, the martyrdom of the martyr priests was a blessing in disguise because it hastened the growth of Philippine nationalism. Rizal would had been a Jesuit and there would have been no Graciano Lopez Jaena, and no Marcelo H. del Pilar, if it were not for the Cavite tragedy of 1872. Indeed the Filipino propaganda movement sprouted from the martyrdom of GOMBURZA.

Meanwhile, for more than three hundred years of the Spanish rule the Filipinos failed miserably in their revolts and insurrections, because the Spanish government enjoyed better military organization, better weapons, and better strategy. Moreover the Spaniards had the backing and support of the parish priests who were very powerful and influential in their respective curacies and communities.

The greatest factor, however, for the failure and frustrations of the Filipino insurrections was the absence of Filipino national unity. On the other hand, throughout the Spanish rule there were tribal enmity and sectional hostility among the Filipino people. This clan and tribal warfare was indeed encouraged by the Spaniards to enable her to attain her policy of "divide et impera" (divide and rule).

Thus when the Dagohoy revolt broke out in 1744, it was finally the Cebuanos that suppressed it, directed, of course, by the Spanish commander. When the Ilocos revolt flared up during the British occupation, it was the Cagayanos and also the Ilocanos that put it down. When the Pampangueños revolted, it was put down by the Spanish authorities with the help of the Tagalogs. In retaliation the Pampangueños aided by the Spaniards suppressed the Tagalog insurrection.

Unfortunately for over two centuries and a half of the Spanish rule the idea of Philippine nationalism and national unity was lacking among the Filipino people. They were concerned not of the Filipino nation but of their regional communities. For instance, when the Pangasinanes rose in revolt in 1660, their leader, Andres Malong proclaimed himself the king of Pangasinan. The following year when the Ilocos revolt flared up in 1661, the leader, Pedro Almazar of San Nicolas was proclaimed as the king of the Ilocanos and his eldest son as the crown prince. When the religious revolt broke out in Tayabas (Quezon province) the leader, Apolinario de la Cruz was proclaimed as the king of the Tagalogs.

The failure of the Filipino rebellions and insurrections in a sense was favorable to the formation and development of Philippine nationalism because the Filipino people learned that they had common grievances against the Spanish government and they realized that their freedom, liberty, and independence could only be realized through national unity. Hence, the accumulation of the common grievances and complaints precipitated the outbreak of the Philippine revolution of 1896.

Indeed it can readily be seen that Manila has always been the center and hotbed of revolutions. Thus it was in Manila where the Cavite mutiny was planned and schemed foreshadowing the Philippine revolution of 1896. It was on Bagumbayan field, Manila, where the three martyr Filipino priests were garroted fostering the formation of Philippine nationalism. It was in Manila where Rizal wrote *A la Juventud Filipino* asserting that the Philippines and not Spain was the fatherland of the Filipino people. It was in Tondo, Manila, where Rizal founded La Liga Filipina the purpose of which was the attainment of a Filipino vigorous national unity, although the Spanish authorities believed that its real purpose was to prepare the Filipino people for a revolution. It was in Tondo, Manila, where the Katipunan society was founded by Andres Bonifacio the main purpose of which was the attainment of the political independence of the fatherland through a revolution. It was in Tondo, Manila, where the great plebian, Andres Bonifacio, was born, who differed with the Filipino intellectuals like Jose Rizal and Graciano Lopez Jaena and who firmly believed that it was only through violence and revolution that the redemption of the fatherland could be achieved. It was in Manila where Jose Rizal, the Filipino national hero was executed, aggravating the Philippine revolution and resulting in the final downfall of the Spanish empire. Finally, it was in Tondo, Manila, that the secret Katipunan society was discovered, precipitating the Cry of Balintawak in August, 1896, which climaxed to the establishment of the first Philippine republic on January 23, 1899, marking the birth of the Filipino nation.

It is interesting to note that despite all kinds of revolutions and insurrections whether in Manila or in the provinces, and inspite of the brutality of the Spanish rule, the Filipino people have expanded, developed, and progressed. Whereas other peoples like the American Indians and the Incas for instance have been absorbed by the English and the Spanish people respectively. In other words, the Filipino people, unlike other inferior races, are capable of absorbing any kind of culture and civilization.

Needless to say in many countries of the world today, we find revolution and activism undertaken by youth organizations. They are manifested in picketing a number of establishments and in staging series of demonstrations in the City of Manila.

After all what are the objectives of the youth movement in the Philippines today? They maintain that they are after the abolition of colonialism, feudalism, and imperialism. What are the meanings of these terms. Colonialism according to the Webster's Standard Dictionary is the policy of a nation seeking to acquire or retain overseas dependencies. Actually it refers to persons or nations subservient to another persons or nations; like, for example, if the Filipinos are subservient or have the feeling of inferiority to the Americans. Feudalism pertains to the system where the farmers and other workers are poorly paid and are under the caprices and mercies of their employers and masters. Whereas imperialism, literary speaking, is the extension of an empire comprising many nations all controlled by a central government. It may mean, however, the exploitation of raw materials of backward countries through the use of political and military pressures.

We should bear in mind that youth activism and revolutions are taking place at present all over the world owing perhaps to the atomic bomb and population explosion. As matter of fact, the activities of youth organization are more aggressive in other countries of the world, like the United States, France, and Italy, than in the Philippines. We should not just dismiss or denounce activism, but we should listen to them and adopt or follow their just and reasonable demands. One thing is sure, however, that youth revolution and activism will undoubtedly center around the City of Manila, because it is the political, economic, educational, and religious center of the nation.

National Progress Through Constitution Making

Jose E. Romero

THE THEME of this year's convention is "National progress through constitution making." Right here we must give a word of caution about expecting too much from amendments to the constitution, or even a new constitution to bring about that progress, economic and social, urgently and desperately needed as it might be. We believe that this word of caution is necessary in view of the statements that have often been made by those disillusioned with conditions prevailing in our country that this is the last chance for survival of the present national set-up and that if it failed, the other alternative would be subversion and armed revolution.

Constitutions can only try to guarantee the fundamental rights of the citizen and provide a framework of government that can create the conditions under which the progress and well-being of the people can be advanced. Our present constitution does attempt to guarantee the fundamental rights of every citizen without regard to creed, color or social and economic condition. It then establishes a government whereby the three coordinate and co-equal departments of the government, namely, the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial departments upon which these fundamental rights might be securely protected, and whereby justice and freedom will be secured for every man. Under our philosophy of government this is expected not only to permit

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* Address delivered at the Annual Convention of the Philippine Historical Association held at the San Beda College Auditorium on December 13, 1969.

but to encourage the citizen to bring about the best that is in him which, in turn, should bring about that progress that is so urgently and desperately needed for the peace, welfare and security of the nation. To expect that you can bring about prosperity by constitutional fiat is a vain illusion. A constitution can only provide the skeleton, but the people themselves must provide the flesh, the blood and sinew. The constitution can help or hinder progress, but of itself it cannot bring it about.

One plausible argument against the holding of the coming constitutional convention is that most of the amendments that are undoubtedly needed could have been made through the simpler process of approving them by three-fourths of the members of both Houses of Congress in joint resolutions, and later submitting those resolutions to a plebiscite of the people. Some thought that a constitutional convention would throw the whole constitution wide open to radical and dangerous innovations that may make the remedy worse than the disease. It is a fact that our first attempt at amending the Constitution was a mistake that we cannot ever sufficiently regret, namely, the amendment to permit the reelection of the President and to return the bicameral system of legislature. However, political considerations and convenience have rendered futile attempts, for instance, to restore the provisions prohibiting the reelection of the President which, undoubtedly, would remove the source of much of what plagues our present political system. When a President's chief concern upon election to office is to prepare for his reëlection, using the tremendous powers of his office with that aim in view; (and he would not be human if he did not have that aim)—it becomes extremely difficult that honesty, efficiency and justice would be the principal guidelines along which the government would be administered. In Mexico, for instance, armed revolution was often resorted to until the reelection of the President was prohibited. But this simple principle so wisely provided for in our original constitution, and so unwisely amended to suit the particular case of an undoubtedly beloved and popular President, could not be restored by our Congress because of practical political considerations, such as whether the incumbent should have his term extended to six years, and the concommitant problem of synchronizing elections that would affect the tenure of office of other elective officials. Many felt that only by summoning a constitutional convention could this change be effected.

Some arguments for calling a constitutional convention are less convincing. It is alleged, for instance, that our constitution needs overhauling, because it was a colonial document, that is, a document drafted while we were a colony of the United States. This reasoning is probably based on the fact that our present Constitution was to a great extent modelled after the United States Constitution. Unquestionably, our Bill of Rights, the establishment of three coordinate and co-equal departments of government, with corresponding checks and balances, which form the major part of the Constitution was patterned largely after the United States Constitution. But what objection could there be to adopting many of the ideas of the American Constitution —a document that had been described as "the wisest political document ever devised by the mind of men." In addition our thirty-five years' experiences had conditioned us to the basic principles of this system.

But our Constitutional Convention did not hesitate to adopt daring innovations such as the prohibition against the reelection of the President, the adoption of the unicameral legislature, the creation of the Commission on Elections and the Electoral Tribunal, the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy; and these provisions were warmly praised not only by the United States but also by other countries.

It is also urged, in justification of the overhauling of the present Constitution that the President of the United States had the power to approve or disapprove our Constitution, and that, therefore, that Constitution was drafted with this limitation in mind. In this connection, it must be said that the only limitation that the United States President placed was that it should be republican in form and democratic in character, and I do not see that this is in fact a limitation at all, because we would in any event have imposed this limitation on ourselves. To resent a limitation that we would impose on ourselves just because it happened to be imposed by an outsider who, it must be admitted, had an interest in the matter, is to play on the sensibilities and pride of the people.

Our present Constitution is also said to be a colonial document because we were required to include as an Appendix to the same the provisions of our Trade Agreement with the United States. This Agreement was practically unanimously passed by our Congress and later by our people in a plebiscite, and we would, in any event have respected its provisions. To resent its incorporation in our Constitution is again a matter of pride which should not be an important criterion for overhauling a document that has been drafted by the best minds of the country at that time and, perhaps, at any time—men like Recto, Laurel, Roxas, Palma, Briones, Sotto, Cuenco, Montinola, to name only a few of the great dead, and not mentioning those living, so as to avoid the sensibilities of those who might not be mentioned.

Some of our leaders had said that they prefer a government run like hell by the Filipinos to one run like heaven by the Americans. While most intelligent people correctly saw that this was simply a way to express dramatically a longing for political independence, still there could be some justification for a reservation to see to it that we would not carry out such a pronouncement literally.

The point I am trying to establish is first, that if we must overhaul the Constitution we should do it not just for the sake of overhauling, but for considerations that are fundamental, in the belief that certain definite improvements are needed; and second, that we must not expect too much from a new constitution or new constitutional provisions, nor believe that we can ordain progress and prosperity through the constitution. By wise constitutional precepts we may promote prosperity by making it possible for every man to develop the best that is in him. We believe this can best be done by guaranteeing him his essential freedoms, and by providing him with whatever means possible to assist him in his desire for advancement for himself and his country. But in the final analysis, it will be the men who will implement wise constitutional precepts that will make the Constitution a working instrumentality for peace, the general well-being and progress. The

Constitution cannot legislate wisdom and patriotism into those charged with its implementation or the people that chose them.

I think that this word of caution is timely because, as a member of the original Constitutional Convention and, I might add, floor leader of the same, I am apprehensive about some of the ideas being bandied about. Already in our original Constitutional Convention, from the vantage point of my position, it was pretty obvious that many radical principles that would have appealed to the emotions of great masses of people, but which were impractical and unworkable, might have found their way into the Constitution.

Much as it might be unflattering to our pride, it must be candidly admitted that sometimes the arguments had to be used that such radical ideas might be an obstacle to the approval of our Constitution and that the alternative would be to continue indefinitely under American rule, and that in any event the Constitution could later be amended under more auspicious circumstances.

Another argument advanced for overhauling our Constitution is that a periodical review is necessary and it has been pointed out that the United States Constitution has already suffered 25 amendments. This statement is misleading. The United States Constitution was an experiment in that it had very little in the way of precedent, and was reluctantly adopted only after one decade of experience had proved the government by the Continental Congress to be unworkable, and it was therefore believed that the Constitution would be modified before long; but this Constitution did not, in fact, suffer any substantial amendments, until the Civil War took place, and the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments emancipating the negroes were approved. The first ten amendments were merely the Bill of Rights which had to be approved before many of the states would ratify it, and these were adopted almost simultaneously with the Constitution.

The Eleventh Amendment simply prohibited any citizen from suing any of the states. Some of the court's had allowed suits to be filed against a state of the Union and these states which had been practically sovereign before the adoption of the Constitution were jealous of their semi-sovereign status and maintained it through this amendment.

The Twelfth Amendment simply changed the rather awkward system that had been adopted in the Constitution of electing the President. The presidential electors had to vote for two candidates and the one that got the highest number of votes was to be President, and the other would be the Vice President. There was almost a civil war when the great Thomas Jefferson and the notorious Aaron Burr got the same number of votes in the fourth election to be held under the Constitution. To avoid such confusion, the Twelfth Amendment was adopted by which presidential electors were to cast their votes for President and for Vice President separately.

The first ten amendments, comprising the Bill of Rights, as already stated, were adopted even before several of the states had ratified the Constitution which these states imposed as a condition for ratification by them. The Eleventh and Twelfth Amendments, as explained above, were likewise adopted shortly thereafter. There were no further amendments until the great convulsion was created by the slavery question and the Civil War, and this was about eighty years after the adoption of the Constitution.

The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments emancipated the slaves. The amendments to the United States Constitution can not, therefore, be justifiably cited as an example of the necessity of periodic revision of the Constitution.

I have already expressed the humble opinion that the first task of the new Constitutional Convention would probably be a sort of the reconsideration of the amendments that we had adopted, namely, on the matter permitting the reelection of the President and, probably, the return to the Unicameral Legislature. About this, there seems to be a strong consensus, and as it would restore the system that had already been proven successful in our country, there should not be too much controversy over them.

Other proposals, however, that are being talked about and which are expected to radically change our economic, social and political structure, should be most carefully scrutinized. To try to undertake such radical changes could be not only a difficult exercise but could also be fraught with grave perils. For example, there is talk coming from responsible sources about the creation in this country of the so-called welfare state. Now, it so happens that I have had first-hand knowledge of the workings of the welfare state, because I lived for five years under it, having been accredited as ambasador for four countries which have probably been the most successful in this matter. I refer to England and the Scandinavian countries — Norway, Sweden and Denmark. From close observation and in the light, on the other hand, of my quite extensive experience of government in our country, I must say that the system that has been quite successful in those countries would be almost impossible to implant here. In the first place, the welfare state requires a lot of money, and the highest rate of taxation. The four countries I mentioned are among the most prosperous in Europe, and they have about the highest rates of taxation. These countries already spend much more than we do for education and national defense and yet, what they spend on socialized medicine, food subsidies and housing, which are only three of the many items comprising the welfare state system, take up even a greater share of their budget. Taxation is among the highest in the world, taking an average of 40% of the income of the people. They pay much higher than even the Americans. I do not believe our people would stand for this rate of taxation, and we do not have comparable taxable wealth.

President Marcos has often mentioned the fact that 60% of our people die without having been visited by a nurse or doctor because of their financial condition. We don't even have enough funds to maintain the very limited hospital and health facilities that we have, and yet we would attempt a system where everybody would have free hospitalization and medical care. We don't even have enough funds to pay our teachers regularly or to accommodate all our children in the schools, and yet we contemplate having a system that would guarantee even up to college education at public expense. These are only a few instances that can be cited to show how impossible it would be to adopt the system in our country.

There is also very much talk about introducing the Parliamentary system in our country. Here, again, I happened to have the opportunity to observe at first hand the workings of the Parliamentary system for five years, as the countries to which I was accredited as ambassador also had the most successful governments under the Parliamentary system. Outside of these countries, however, it would be difficult to name any country that has been equally successful in maintaining the Parliamentary system. Even in France, the Parliamentary system was a failure until De Gaulle had the constitution amended so as to give the French President greater powers, and the powers of Parliament were diminished. Until De Gaulle rose to power, the French governments lasted only an average of a few months, and so there was great instability and frequent turmoil.

Under the Parliamentary system, if the majority of the members of Parliament disapprove of any policy of the government, that government must resign and new elections must be held. If such a system were to be introduced in our country when election every two years is already considered too frequent, where "turn-coatism" is prevalent and blocs in Congress proliferate, one can only contemplate with apprehension what would happen if anytime blocs getting together can cause the government to resign. As it is now, members of our legislative bodies already exert undue pressure on the officials of the Executive Department and even the Judiciary — at least in the lower echelons. If these same elements, at their whim, can cause the fall of the heads of the Executive Department constituting the Cabinet, these department heads would be subservient to the legislators.

There is the question of how far this ferment of nationalism which is sweeping over the young countries, like ours, should shape our fundamental policies under the Constitution. Nationalism, properly understood, should be a potent factor in the upliftment of peoples, but there are all kinds of nationalism. Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo were fanatic nationalists, but they brought only ruin to their countries. Even that prototype of Filipino nationalism, the late Don Claro M. Recto, has decried the type of "barong tagalog" nationalism. After all, the nation means the people. A nation can even exist without a mother country, without a government, without a flag as in the peculiar case of the

Jewish nation which existed for hundreds of years, and only recently, formed the Jewish State. Of course, this is an unusual case, but it underlines the fact that the nation is first of all the people, and certainly not just the outward symbols. That which is good for the people or the majority of them is, therefore, nationalistic, and whatever does not redound to the good of the people cannot be truly nationalistic. All policies, therefore, should be tested in the crucible of the popular good to qualify as nationalistic. The countries that are already developed, even the smaller ones, like Switzerland, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, although they are living under conditions that often test their patriotism, are not so obsessed about their national identity and their national dignity as the developing countries.

Countries, like Burma, Sukarno's Indonesia and many of the new African countries have carried nationalism to a degree harmful to their people. How to harness the great potential power of a sane nationalism to the welfare and prosperity of the country, which is the theme of this occasion, will require real wisdom and good judgment on the part of the policy makers of our country. Unfortunately, no nation can any longer live in isolation from the rest of the world, and any nation that tries to achieve progress through its exclusive means and efforts without proper appreciation of the need for working with other people, with proper regard of the interest of others whose cooperation they will need, will be trying to lift themselves up by their bootstraps. Nationalism should be tempered, in this era when the world is shrinking because of faster means of communication, with proper consideration of the idea of inter-nationalism.

As the theme of this gathering indicates, what our people are pathetically hoping from their Government and their Constitution is progress, and principally material progress. Our people have among the lowest average individual incomes in the world. We have the highest rate of deaths from diseases, like tuberculosis and El Tor which are diseases of filth and poverty. A very large proportion of our population remain illiterate or practically illiterate, because although most of them attend school in their early age they drop out before they learn enough to be literate, for financial reasons. There are too many of our people not even eating regularly, to say nothing of eating the necessary kind of food to keep healthy. We have difficulty providing for the proper maintenance of peace and order and the most essential health services. We have had thirty-five years of government under our Constitution to improve their lot, and it is no wonder that all else, having failed them, they look wishfully to a new Constitution for salvation.

There is no question that the great need is for friendly foreign capital to put to work the great available and willing manpower, to bring out the natural wealth that is waiting to be developed. There are those who profess to be nationalists but who humiliate the Filipino by saying that he lacks the drive and the industry to earn a decent livelihood. It was the Filipino who developed the sugar industry in Hawaii, the vegetable industry in California, the canneries of Alaska, and yet he cannot find work in his own country. He stands in line for days before the American consulate waiting, often in vain, for a visa to go to Vietnam, Guam or wherever, and yet when outside capital wants to come in to give the same people employment here, where we could better protect their interests, the tendency seems to be always to look upon that capital with suspicion and hedge it about with discouraging restrictions. I cannot understand the kind of nationalism that would rather see our people go abroad to work where we cannot properly protect their interests, and who would not create the conditions that would permit that same people to be able to work in their own country, even if it has to be under foreign capital.

Our teachers and nurses have to go abroad by the thousands to secure gainful employment, and this is a condition that can not fill us with nationalistic pride. Other comparable countries have made a different approach to the problem of securing prosperity for their people. There is, for instance, the case of Puerto Rico. When the United States took over the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico from Spain, Puerto Rico was the poorest of the three colonies. It was an over-populated island and as a measure of its poverty, the first experiment on a national scale of the Rockefeller Foundation to eradicate hookworms was conducted in Puerto Rico which was the worst infected. Among the 21 Latin-

American communities, Puerto Rico had the second lowest standard of living, only Haiti being poorer. At present, Puerto Rico has the second highest standard of living in Latin-America and the Caribbean—second only to oil-rich Venezuela.

Puerto Rico adopted very liberal policies towards American capital. Of course, there will be those who will look down on Puerto Rico for having preferred material advancement to absolute independence, but the Porto Ricans, with their high standard of living, with personal incomes five to ten times higher than ours, will probably think they have not been so unwise when they chose to pay more attention to giving better life to their people than to be too nationalistic.

I have gone to some length in dwelling on these matters, because the theme of your gathering emphasizes progress, and I suppose you mean material progress which is the basis of all other progress—cultural and otherwise, and our people do expect that the new Constitution can do something to improve their economic condition. Whether the policies that will be adopted will be those that will appeal to the sensibilities of our people instead of their material interest, can determine the future of this country.

Summarizing, let us hope that if and when the Constitutional Convention is organized, it will produce a charter that will at least meet in part the hopes of our people for an efficient and honest government and for, at least, slightly better life.

Towards a New Constitution

Ferdinand E. Marcos

As we approach the decade of the 70s, the Philippine Constitution shall become more and more a significant topic of conversation and discussion. Your organization, the Philippine Historical Association, in choosing national progress and the Constitution as the themes of your annual convention, has done an important service for the Great Debate of the 70s.

The Need for a New Constitution

We have long felt the need for a new constitution, if only for the fact that the existing one is a colonial constitution. It was framed when this nation had not yet regained its independence. We do need a constitution that reflects our aspirations and ideals as an independent nation.

We shall also need, however, all the available wisdom of our race in framing this new constitution, hence the necessity for a continuing and profound discussion, so that all opinions and observations can be weighed judiciously.

The Lessons of History

We shall be approaching the constitutional task armed with the historical experience of two decades of independent national existence. It is the concerned Filipino's hope and prayer that we shall be wise enough to read truly the sentiments of our people and the direction of the times—and probably even anticipate the vicissitudes of the future. It would be fatal if we misread or distort the national experience, or overwhelmed by the pressures of the moment, arrive at conclusions which are only relevant to the present.

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* Speech at the closing ceremony of the Annual Convention of the Philippine Historical Association held at the San Beda College Auditorium on December 14, 1969.

However, our safeguard lies in the growing interest in the constitution, which, I hope, associations such as yours will generate even more, particularly among the Filipino masses.

A People's Wisdom

A good constitution should reflect the wisdom of an entire people. Some peoples, like the British, find no necessity for a written constitution, and yet their political system is one that is effectively suited to their national temperament. In a sense, what is most important is the constitution that is carved in the heart of a people.

I personally believe in the innate wisdom of the Filipino people. Freedom to our people, is instinctive, visceral. It is the very air we breathe.

Indeed, what has always been tested is not so much our sense of solidarity, our sense of national discipline. And yet I believe that when the ordeal comes, as it has come, I think, our people will demand discipline of themselves, if this is the one way of preserving our sacred liberties.

National Progress and Constitution-Making

Let me make a concluding observation. You relate national progress with constitution-making. This is a delicate process, and I do hope that somehow a correlation can be made between our constitution and the achievement of certain national purposes, not the least of which is development.

Perhaps, a strong social orientation in the exercise of state power can achieve the correlation you have in mind. Or the solution could lie in the allocation of governmental powers. But whatever the solution, I must emphasize the primacy of the human will in national development, for it is in men's minds that development begins and ends.

The Constitution—and by this, I include the definition of Aristotle, which includes not only the text but the entire political and social structure fashioned by a people to govern themselves—can provide the moral and legal environment for change and progress. Much is left to the courage, energy, and will of the people.

Considering the reverence for the existing constitution that our people have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate, we can hope that the effort towards framing a new one will have the support of our people, and upon its finalization, will serve as the bedrock of our national life.

I thank you.

General Jose Ignacio Paua and his Role during the Philippine Revolution

Luis C. Dery

THE LIFE of General Jose Ignacio Paua[1] and his role in, and contribution to, the Filipinos' long struggle for independence can best be seen in the perspectives of the Philippine Revolution. It was during this momentous event in Philippine history that the Chinese Jose Ignacio Paua came into prominence; first, as a fiscal agent of the Revolutionary Government, whose success in soliciting and collecting contributions for the Revolutionary Government was unmatched by other fiscal agents of the Revolutionary Government; and second, as a fighting general whose "scorched-earth" policy made him feared by the Americans and their Filipino collaborators. Moreover, his decision to cast his lot with the Filipinos made him unique among the Chinese in the Philippines, particularly because most of them remained aloof or indifferent to the cause of the Revolution.

His Birth and Boyhood

Paua was born in one of the poor villages of Fookien, China, on August 27, 1856.[2] His poverty and his youthful adventurous spirit, as well as what he had seen and heard about the humiliations his country had experienced in the hands of foreign powers, developed his rebellious but upright character. China, by the time Paua reached his adolescent age, had already been subjected to onerous treaties imposed upon her by the European powers who considered China ripe for imperialistic exploitation. Affected by this set-up, Paua joined a secret society called the Triad Society (T'ien Ti Hui).[3] He became active as a member of the Society and participated in its secret affairs. Later, his enemies came to regard him as a troublesome person who must be eliminated. Fortunately, Paua learned their evil design and rather than accommodate them, he joined a trading junk bound for Manila as a kitchen boy. After a perilous trip he arrived at Manila by the end of July 1872. Here he roamed the streets of Intramuros and its environs, finally settling on Jaboneros Street (San Nicolas) as an apprentice to a Chinese blacksmith.[4]

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[1] He was known to his fellow Filipino revolutionaries with this name. From his fellow Chinese his name had several variants, such as Hou A-p'ao, Hou Fu-pao, and Hou Pao. See Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, 1850-1898, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965), p. 201; Kun Chiu Go, *Heneral Jose Ignacio Pawa* (A term paper submitted to Professor Isagani Medina, Dept. of History, University of the Philippines, First Semester, 1971-1972), unpaged.

[2] Shubert S. C. Liao, *Chinese participation in Philippine culture and economy,*

Through sheer industry and ability, Paua rose from a mere apprentice to become a master artisan, being an expert in the repair and manufacture of *lantaka* (or native canon). It was during this time, too, that he acquired knowledge of Tagalog and Spanish through his association with some Filipinos whom he befriended while living in Tondo. Moreover, he gained the confidence of some radical Filipinos who later on became prominent revolutionary figures. His association with these Filipinos made him realize the oppressive conditions of the country. Inasmuch as the same conditions were existing in his country, Paua came to sympathize with the Filipinos

His Initiation

Paua's Filipino friends, particularly Pantaleon Garcia, introduced him to some prominent Tondo *Katipuneros*, among them

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(Manila, S. S. C. Liao, 1964), p. 121. Kun Chiu Go cited two other supposed places of Paua's birth: Amoy, Fookien, and Lamua, Fookien, *op. cit.*

[3] Edgar Wickberg, *op. cit.*, p. 201

[4] S. S. C. Liao, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Kun Chiu Go, *op. cit.* Paua was described as industrious, with inherent mechanical talent making him a good artisan. He was tall and thin, and gentle in manners. He was also frank and brave. He had a flair for good clothes and perfume, and attended social gatherings. Likewise, he could easily adapt himself such that he learned Tagalog and Spanish, and later, English and Bicol. It was his flair for socail gatherings that he met his first wife, Antonia Jamir, during one of the fiestas in Cavite. It was also in this manner that he likewise met his second wife, Carolina Imperial, from Albay.

Guillermo Masangkay, Jose Turiano Santiago, and Procopio Bonifacio. From them Paua came to learn about the secret society and some radical Filipinos—the *Katipunan* and its leader, Andres Bonifacio. Even when he was already in the Philippines, Paua continued to maintain his Chinese secret association and became a leader of the local branch of the Triad Society.[5] Certainly, Paua's association with the secret society helped him greatly in continuing with his subversive activities, now being abetted by his ties with some *Katipuneros.* But his subversive activities were now directed against Spain which were in consonance with the goals of his *Katipunero* friends. It is certain that he learned the plight of his fellow-Chinese through his connections with some *Katipuneros.* Hence his sympathy for the Filipino cause. By this time, he had come to realize that for the Chinese inhabitants in the Philippines to be freed from the oppressions of Spanish rule a radical solution was necessary. To Paua this solution was revolution against Spain, which meant joining hands with the Filipino separatists. His close ties with the *Katipuneros* showed this conviction—and his rejection of the peaceful, often opportunistic solution taken by other fellow-Chinese, headed by Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sien,[6] who sought the establishment of a Chinese consulate in Manila to protect Chinese interests in the Philippines. To Paua, the former solution was the best under the exisitng conditions for it meant the end of Chinese, and Filipino, sufferings under Spanish rule.

Besides his growing ties with the Filipinos, Paua felt the need for a life partner—somebody who could give him care and affection, particularly because he felt lonely in a foreign land. With his closest friend, Pantaleon Garcia, he went frequently to Cavite, especially during fiestas. In the barrio of Binakayan, Kawit, he met and later married Antonia Jamir, a cousin of Emilio Aguinaldo. This marriage unfortunately was ended by Antonia Jamir's infidelity. Paua later on married another girl from Albay by the name of Carolina Imperial.[7]

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[5] Edgar Wickberg, *op. cit.,* p. 201.

[6] Carlos Palanca's Chinese name was Tan Quien-sien. But when he became a Catholic he took the name of his baptismal sponsor, Colonel Carlos Palanca y Gutierrez, a Spanish officer who became known as a leader of the Spanish forces in the Franco-Spanish intervention of 1858-62 in Cochin-China. Thus, Tan Quien-sien became Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sen. See Wickberg, *op. cit.,* p. 199.

It was noteworthy that besides finding a wife, Paua met and became a friend of many Caviteños, some of whom later became prominent revolutionary leaders, like Emilio Aguinaldo, Vito Belarmino, Artemio Ricarte, Mariano Trias, and others. It was from one of his acquaintances that Emilio Aguinaldo came to know of Paua's sympathy with the Filipino cause and of his skill in repairing and manufacturing weapons.

Meanwhile, events during the last decade of the 19th century in Manila and environs were rapidly moving. The Spanish colonial authorities were already suspicious of the existence of a secret society, the *Katipunan*, whose aim was to overthrow Spanish power in the Philippines. But through the confession of a *Katipunero* of weak character, Teodoro Patiño, to the sinister priest, Fr. Mariano Gil, the Spanish authorities finally established the existence of the revolutionary *Katipunan* and its separatist aims. The Spanish authorities, instinctively acting for self-preservation, moved swiftly to foil the Filipinos' plan to drive Spanish power out of the country. A reign of terror was inaugurated to cow the Filipinos to submission. But this savage step taken only added fire to the already smouldering fury of the people. Many Filipinos joined the struggle for the redemption of their country. When the *Katipunan* was discovered, Bonifacio and his companions went to Pugad-Lawin, a sitio of Balintawak, Caloocan, and there raised the cry of revolution against Spanish rule.[8] Hereafter, the revolution spread rapidly to the immediate environs of Manila, particularly in Cavite.

Outbreak of the Revolution

Paua was in Cavite when the Philippine Revolution broke out August 23, 1896. When the Caviteños joined the revolution Paua offered not only his services but also those of the 3,000 Chinese supporters (who were fellow-members of the local branch of the Triad Society) to General Emilio Aguinaldo.[10] Taking advantage of this offer, Aguinaldo gave him a commission as lieutenant in the Revolutionary Army.

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[7] U.S. War Dept. *Philippine Insurgent Records*, 1896-1901, with associated records of the 1900-1906. Wash., 1967. (U.P. Filipiniana Microfilm copy). Microfilm Roll No. 25, document 355/9 and Microfilm Roll No. 32, document 526/8. Henceforth to be cited as PIR (U.P.)

[8] For a revealing discussion of this chapter in Philippine history see Teodoro A. Agncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan*, (Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 1956).

[9] There is a divergence of opinions as to the date of the 'Cry'. For a clearer view on this subject, see *Historical Bulletin*, IV (September 1960), and (December 1960).

Paua immediately proved his mettle in combat when in the first encounters against Spanish troops at Imus, Cavite, he and Pio del Pilar, with only twenty-seven men, forced a regiment of Spanish troops commanded by Colonel Salcedo to retreat from their stronghold.[11]

The revolution in Manila and Central Luzon spread rapidly and the Spanish authorities, harasshed on many sides, tried their best to contain it both by promises and by force. The arrival of reenforcements from Spain by late October and early November 1896 enabled the Spanish Governor-General Ramon Blanco to personally lead and carry the fight right to the center of the revolution which was Cavite, with the aim of crushing the backbone of the revolution. The hostilities commenced on November 9 when the Spanish navy bombarded the coastal towns of Bakood, Kawit, and Noveleta, culminating in the bloody battles of Binakayan and Imus. The Spanish offensives forced the Filipinos to retreat, and from November 1896 to March 1897 the Filipino situation had become serious.[12] As a consequence, the Filipinos lost such brave men as Candido Tirona and Edilberto Evangelista. Even so, the Filipino troops, inexperienced though they were, proved that they were more than an equal to Spain's best troops.

It was in the battles in Cavite that Paua demonstrated his military ability. In the battle at Binakayan on November 10, 1896, Paua headed a group of bolomen that several times fought the Spanish troops in hand-to-hand combat and succeeded in forcing the Spanish troops to retreat. The following day, on account of his exploits, Aguinaldo promoted him to captain.

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[10] Edgar Wickberg, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[11] Marion Wilcox, ed. *Harper's history of the war in the Philippines*, (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1900), p. 365.

[12] Manuel Sastron, *La Insurreccion en Filiipnas y Guerra Hispano-Americana en el Archipielago*, Madrid, (Imp. de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Rios, 1901), pp. 135-145; Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Revolt*, pp. 184-199.

After the battle of Binakayan, Paua joined the siege of the Spanish garrisons at San Francisco de Malabon (now General Trias), Naic, Indang, and Magallanes. In all these crucial battles he fought creditably and ". . . with as much devotion as a true Filipino."[13] But on December 25, 1896, Aguinaldo ordered him to leave the front in order for him to supervise and direct the operations of the rebels' arsenal at Imus, Cavite, and to repair and manufacture guns for the Filipino forces. His transfer was due to the lessons learned by the Filipino rebel leaders, namely, the necessity of having enough arms and ammunition to enable the rebel army to match Spanish firepower since Paua was skillful in repairing and manufacturing guns.[14] In this task, he was assisted by a fellow-Chinese and sixteen other assistants who were formerly connected with the Manila maestranza and the Cavite arsenal and who had gone over to the Filipino side taking with them some canon tubes as well as their knowledge of repairing and manufacturing weapons.[15] Thus with Paua's able and resourceful management of the rebels' foundry and arsenal, the rebel forces' acute need for arms was partially met. In this performance, Aguinaldo commended Paua, saying that "... he was that resourceful Chinese who melted bells and all sorts of junks and turned them into guns and bayonets for the Filipino revolutionary army."[16]

But Paua's assignment as director of the rebels' arsenal was shirt-lived because in February, 1897, the Spaniards, now under Governor-General Camilo de Polovieja, launched vigorous counterattacks against the Filipino forces in Batangas, Cavite, and Laguna, with Cavite as the center of operations. Once more, the Filipino forces were hardpressed. Under such circumstances, Paua left his job at the Cavite arsenal and went to the frontlines. It was in the battle of Salitran that he distinguished himself again at the head of a combined forces of bolomen and riflemen. Much heroism and bravery was shown by the Filipinos, but in the face of the enemy's military superiority they were forced to retreat.

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[13] Juan F. Villasanta, "General Aguinaldo recalls General Paua," *Fookien Times Yearbook* (30th Anniversary Number, 1926-1956), p. 145.

[14] Artemio Ricarte, *Memoirs,* (Manila, National Heroe sCommission, 1963), p. 11.

[15] U.S. War Dept. *Annual report,* 1903, Vol. III, p. 413.

[16] Juan F. Villasanta, *op. cit.,* p. 145

In the midst of these crucial events the Tejeros Convention, which was held on March 22, 1897, led to the Aguinaldo-Bonifacio rift and to the subsequent arrest, trial, and death of Bonifacio. Paua was one of the men under Colonial Agapito Bonzon who carried out the order to arrest Bonifacio.[17]

Biyak-na-Bato

Because of this internal rift, the revolution weakened and suffered a series of reverses on all fronts. The rebel forces under Aguinaldo had to fall back again and again until he and his men retreated to Biyak-na-Bato.[18] Here he holed up to recuperate from the reverse his forces had suffered since November 1896 when the Spanish offensive began. The Spanish forces, however, succeeded in surrounding his hiding place and subjected it to constant pressures. To ease the desperate situation, Aguinaldo ordered some of his forces to conduct guerrilla campaigns to lessen Spanish pressure in Biyak-na-Bato. General Francisco Makabulos performed this task well. Paua, too, joined this guerrilla campaign. Toward the end of October 1897, he brought back to Biyak-na-Bato his tired troops seasoned from the Central Luzon guerrilla campaigns. Owing to his showing in the field, he was promoted to major. Furthermore, owing to his appearance in battles the Spaniards thought that there were many Chinese fighting with the Filipinos against them.

On November 1, 1897 the Biyak-na-Bato Republic was inaugurated with Gentral Emilio Aguinaldo as President. The Constitution of Biyak-na-Bato was signed by the Filipino leaders gathered there, and Paua was one of them.[19] It was on this historic occasion that Paua was promoted to colonel in the Revolutionary Army.

The Biyak-na-Bato Republic, was shortlived, for on December 15, 1897, the last of the three documents comprising the Truce of Biyak-na-Bato was signed between Governor-General Primo de

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[17] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Revolt,* p. 239.

[18] For a detailed account on the Spanish offensives and the death of Bonifacio, see Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Revolt,* chapters 10-16.

[19] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution,* (Mandaluyong, Rizal, Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1969), p. 63 (cf. footnte); Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos, The Crisis of the Republic,* (Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 1960), pp. 1-52.

Rivera and General Emilio Aguinaldo acting through the mediator Pedro A. Paterno. In accordance with the truce, selected rebel leaders headed by General Emilio Aguinaldo went to voluntary exile to Hongkong. Paua was one of those who joined Aguinaldo in Hongkong. He came back later because he was one of those rebel leaders entrusted by Aguinaldo to take charge of the surrender of rebel arms and the disbandment of rebel troops. General Artemio Ricarte was assigned this task in Cavite, General Paciano Rizal in Laguna, and Colonel Ignacio Paua in the other provinces.[20] After carrying out his assignment, Paua followed Aguinaldo to Hongkong where he arrived in the morning of January 24, 1898.[21]

In Hongkong, Paua acted as interpreter for the exiled Filipino revolutionary leaders because of his knowledge of the Chinese language. Up to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War and Commodore Dewey's victory at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, Paua and the rest of the exiled Filipino rebel leaders waited for further developments and plotted their future moves against Spain.

The outbreak of the Spanish-American War and the defeat of the Spanish navy by Commodore Dewey at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, paved the way for the resumption of the revolution and the return of General Emilio Aguinaldo to the Philippines. He arrived at Cavite on May 19, 1898, aboard the American vessel, *McCulloch*. Aguinaldo's return was effected largely by the Americans who saw in him a tool with which to advance American imperialist aims in the Philippines. It was also due to the desire of the Filipino leaders themselves to take advantage of the Spanish-American War to resume the revolution and finish off Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines.

The Return from Hongkong

The news of Aguinaldo's return spread rapidly in Manila and its environs. In a proclamation to the Filipino people, Aguinaldo made it known that on account of the non-compliance of the Spanish colonial government with the Biyak-na-Bato agreement, he had to resume the struggle for independence.[22] Once more, the people trooped to Aguinaldo's banner.

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[20] U.S. War Dept. *Annual Reports,* 1903, Vol. III, p. 423.

[21] John R. M. Taylor, *The Philippine insurrection against the United States,* (Washington, Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Dept., 1906), Vol. I, 74 LY, Exhibit 72. (Microfilm copy of the U.P. Library).

Meanwhile, following the successful return of Aguinaldo and the decision of the people to continue the fight, other Filipino leaders exiled in Hongkong likewise returned to the Philippines. One of them was Colonel Paua who arrived in June, 1898.[23]

The rapidity with which the revolutionary activities was resumed was so astounding as to leave the Spanish authorities helpless to maintain their authority over most of the country (except the Walled City of Manila).[24] This may be explained by the fact that in several provinces, many Filipino revolutionary leaders, being suspicious of Spanish sincerity in carrying out the conditions stipulated by the Truce of Biyak-na-Bato, refused to give up the arms of their men.[25] Thus, these revolutionary leaders served as rallying points which greatly aided Aguinaldo in rallying the people once more against Spain. The revolution gathered momentum and the Spanish authorities were now faced with two enemies: the Americans at sea and the Filipinos on land. The end of Spanish power in the Philippines became a matter of time.[26]

The Betrayal

By mid-1898, however, the Americans were beginning to show a hostile stance against their Filipino "ally", marking the beginning of Filipino disenchantment with the Americans. The relations between the "allies" progressively deteriorated, especially when the American deprived the Filipinos of the fruit of their victory by securing the fall of Manila through deceit and by entering into a secret agreement with the Spanish governor-general to conduct the now-famous mock battle of Manila ostensibly in order to save Spanish honor. Adding insult to injury, the Americans told the Filipino forces that the latter were not to participate in the occupation of the Walled City. The Filipinos became embittered by this American apostasy.[27]

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[22] *P.I.R.,* Microfilm Roll No. 38, document No. 674/1.

[23] Edwin Wildman, *Aguinaldo: A narrative of Filipino ambitions,* (Boston, Lothrop Pub. Co., 1901), p. 105.

[24] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos . . .*, p. 137, quoting Oscar F. Williams, U.S. Consul at Manila, saying "... The insurgents have defeated the Spaniards at all points except at the fort near Malate, and hold not only North Luzon to the suburbs of Manila, but Batanyes [sic.] Province also and the bay coast entire, save the city of Manila . . ."

[25] *Ibid.,* pp. 65-69; also U.S. War Dept., *Annual Reports,* 1903, Vol. III, p. 423.

[26] For a detailed treatment of this aspect, see Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic,* (Quezon City, University of the Philippines, 1960).

Meanwhile, the Filipinos proclaimed their independence in Kawit, Cavite, on June 12, 1898, to symbolize Filipino liberation from the oppressive rule of Spain and the birth of the Filipino nation. Unknown to the Filipino masses, this liberation would only be shortlived. At any rate, the proclamation of Philippine independence galvanized the Filipinos into acting and thinking as a nation, a unity which proved a serious obstacle to American imperialistic designs on the Philippines.[28]

As a Fiscal Agent

Paua missed witnessing this historic event because at that time he was busy collecting contributions in the provinces around Manila. Aguinaldo knew that as a fiscal agent Paua was equal to the task, especially in making the Chinese contribute to the finances of the Revolutionary Government. Indeed, Paua was so effective in making his fellow Chinese contribute to the Filipino cause that he earned the ire of a fellow, but opportunist Chinese, Carlos Palanca Tan Quien-sien, who lodged a complaint against him with Aguinaldo.[29] In many instances, however, Paua justified his acts in forcing the Chinese to give contributions by saying that they refused to contribute and instead were depositing their money under English security.[30]

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[28] *The Manila Times* (October 13, 1899), p. 4.

[29] *The Manila Times* (April 26, 1900), p. 1, noted about Carlos Palanca trying to usurp the official Chinese Consul General's powers in Manila "by endeavoring to put every obstacle in the way, even going so far as to assume official appointment from the authorities at Amoy and sticking posters in public places to this effect. The entire foreign consular body at Manila upheld the Chinese Consul General and referred the matter to the American authorities. Palanca was warned that if such acts should continue, he would have to be punished, and he was even threatened with expulsion from the Islands." Also, in an interview published by *The Manila Times* (October 4, 1900), p. 3, Carlos Palanca had nothing but contempt against the Filipinos. Also, U.S. War Dept. *Report of the Phil. Commission,* Vol. II (Testimony and Exhibits), 1900, p. 200.

[30] *P.I.R.* Microfilm Roll No. 25, document 11; T. A. Agoncillo, *Malolos . . .*, pp. 477-478. Paua was one of the fiscal agents appointed by the Revolutionary Government to collect contributions of war; his area of operation was among the Chinese in Manila and in the Bicol provinces. In this task, he performed better than the rest of the fiscal agents. (U.P. Library copy).

Although commissioned to solicit monetary contributions in the provinces around Manila, Paua knew the significance of the coming proclamation of the Philippine Republic. On the day the republic was proclaimed Paua, then in Bulacan, celebrated the occasion with his men with unalloyed rejoicings. To make the occasion doubly significant for him, Paua cut off his pigtail saying that he had likewise proclaimed his independence from the Manchu Chinese custom. Significantly, in doing this act, Paua proclaimed himself a Filipino in heart and in deed. Thus, his act of self-abnegation earned him the respect of his men and fellow-revolutionaries. His efficiency and sense of duty as Aguinaldo's fiscal agent were shown by his effectiveness in divesting the Chinese of their excess wealth, so much so that he came to be hated not only by Filipinos from whom he likewise exacted monetary contributions, but aslo by his fellow-Chinese—and later, by the Americans.[31]

On September 26, 1898, in recognition of Paua's excellent performance in the field, and, in particular, as a fiscal agent and for his act of self-abnegation, that is, his cutting off his pigtail, President Aguinaldo promoted him to brigadier general.[32] Following this promotion, on November 14, he was sent to the Bikol region as the Philippine Republic's especial fiscal commissioner, together with an earlier authorization dated August 25, 1898, to organize the Chinese in the Bikol area to facilitate collection of contributions from them.[33] Upon receipt of Aguinaldo's order, Paua went first to Sorsogon, and here he wrote a letter to President Aguinaldo, dated December 10, 1898, detailing the abuses committed by the revolutionary troops against the Chinese in said province. He asked Aguinaldo to put a stop to such abuses reasoning that such unmeritorious acts dishonored the cause of the Republic.[34] From Sorsogon he proceeded to the other provinces of the Bikol region to carry out his fund-raising mission. In the early part of 1899 Paua returned to Cavite carrying substantial solicited contributions which he personally delivered to the Genneral Headquarters of the Military Department of Southern Luzon in San Francisco de Malabon (now General Trias).

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[31] James LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines*, (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1914), Vol. I, p. 340; Vol. II, p. 101.

[32] Edwin Wildman, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[33] *P.I.R.* Box RL-11 (Paua Papers)—papers taken from Paua by his American captors following his surrender on March 24, 1900. (National Library copy).

[34] *P.I.R.* Microfilm Roll No. 25, document 355/10. (U.P. Library copy).

By the time General Paua returned from the Bikol region, the alliance between the Filipinos and the Americans had already degenerated into mutual hostility. It became irreparable when on January 4, 1899, General Elwell Otis issued a proclamation announcing that the United States had obtained possession of the Philippines and that American sovereignty would be extended over the country.[35] The American-precipitated incident at San Juan Bridge (Sta. Mesa, Manila) on the night of February 4, 1899, led to the Filipino-American War.[36] To the Americans, the Filipinos were insurgents, as shown for instance, in a *Manila Times* editorial:[37]

> The Filipinos...did rebel against Spain...and is forcibly resisting Spain's transfer of the islands to the United States, they are continuing to rebel against the authority of the Spanish crown. Spain, having never surrendered to the Filipinos...on 12th August [1898] decreed that the disposal of the Philippines should be placed in the hands of the Paris peace commissioners. Thus, being in full legal possession, she made a legal transfer...

The hostilities that followed were bitter and, often, no quarters were given by the combatants to each other.

At the outbreak of the Filipino-American War, Paua was eager to join his Filipino comrades in the frontlines. He was, however, unable to do so because President Aguinaldo again commissioned him to be the Republic's fiscal agent to the Bikol region. The purpose of this assignment was to meet the growing financial expenses of the Republic, particularly in financing its war efforts against the Americans. And so the year 1899 found Paua away from the frontlines, collecting more war contributions from the

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[35] John R. M. Taylor, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 57-AJ. (U.P. Library microfilm copy)

[36] Henry P. Willis, *Our Philippine Problem, A Study of American Colonial Policy,* (New York, Holt), 1905, was revealing when he quoted General Otis' dispatches of February 5 and 7, 1899 which stated, "Positive, insurgent attack not ordered by insurgent government." (p. 15).

[37] *The Manila Times* (April 8, 1899), p. 1. For a detailed treatment of the decision to take the Philippines, see U.S. 55th Congress, 3rd Session, *Senate Document No.* 62, (Washington, 1899); also U.S. 56th Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document No.* 148, (Washington, 1901) especially on p. 37, telegram of Mr. Hay to Mr. Day, dated October 28, 1898.

Chinese and from other sources in the Bikol region. In this task, he was ably assisted by Lt. Col. Pedro Aguinaldo.

In a letter dated May 3, 1899, President Aguinaldo instructed Paua to go to Albay to collect money as war contributions in said area to meet the war needs of the Revolutionary Army. President Aguinaldo, in giving Paua this task, reasoned out that the rapid American military advances in Central Luzon made it difficult for the Filipino government to collect funds.[38] It was implicit in Aguinaldo's instructions to Paua that he wanted the latter to obtain control of the revenues in the Bikol region, especially from the shipment of hemp.[39] The Paua had the task of securing these revenues for the Republic's war funds. Fortunately, it became easy for him to perform his duty, for by this time the control of the Bikol region had already been accomplished by the revolutionary government following the sending by the Republic of various military expeditions to said region.[40]

Paua, upon receiving President Aguinaldo's order, proceeded to the Bikol region, arriving there on May 18, 1899. Immediately, he sent a series of telegrams to the local heads of barrios and towns in the Camarines provinces, Albay, and Tayabas, urging the people of said provinces to contribute to the Republic's cause. Paua also secured from prominent town and provincial heads in the Bikol region letters of certification informing the people of his being the fiscal agent of the Philippine Republic commissioned to collect funds and avail the services of such people as will help the cause of the Republic in its struggle against the United States.[41]

As fiscal agent, Paua repeatedly encountered either the people's indifference and hostility or their friendship and sympathy in the fight against the Americans. To those who refused to contribute or were hostile, Paua apparently used force either to neutralize them and/or to make them contribute to the war funds of the Republic.[42]

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[38] *P.I.R.* Microfilm Roll No. 34, document 612/9. (U.P. Library Microfilm copy).

[39] James LeRoy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 340.

[40] Elias M. Ataviado, *The Philippine Revolution in the Bicol Region*, tr. by Juan T. Ataviado, (Manila, 1953), Vol. I, pp. 144-165.

[41] *P.I.R.*, Microfilm Roll 25, document 355/8. (U.P. Library copy).

From time to time, while he was on his fund-raising mission, Paua, whenever he had secured enough funds, reported these to President Aguinaldo, together with his observations and suggestions, as well as what was happening to him. Thus, while at Nueva Caceres (Naga), Camarines, he wrote President Aguinaldo on June 20, 1899, reporting that the people were complaining against the military authorities and seemed opposed to the Filipino cause.[43] By July 16, 1899 he reported that he had made a delivery of collected funds amounting to 100,000 Mexican dollars through his aide, Lt. Col. Pedro Aguinaldo, to the Republic's central treasury.[44]

His Second Marriage

While he was on his fund-raising mission, Paua failed to resist the beauties of Bikolandia. Subsequently, he courted one of them, Carolina Imperial, and married her on September 3, 1899. General Vito Belarmino stood as the couple's sponsor. To this second marriage, Paua gave his reasons in a letter to the Aguinaldo family, dated October 28, 1899:[45]

> Manong Miong: akin pong ipinagbibigay alam sa iniong kamahalan ang nangyayari sa aking buhay; alang-alang sa aming pagsasama ni Toña * ng bago po aco umalis ng buan ng Mayo sa Kawit at marami na akong balita sa mga kasamahan na akoy guinagawan ng di dapat dapwa't itoy hindi naman dapat paniwalaan, at cailangang makita. Ang bagay na ito po'y inaiilag kong malaman po ninio, datapua't, hindi ca man po maniwala'y aquing sasabihing lahat, ang bagay po ng pagkaaborrido, kaya't po't ang sinaisip, upang huag akong magisip ng di dapat at malaking kasalanan sa P. Dios, ay dito sa bayan ng Albay isa sa mga hirang na babaye kahit mahirap ang buhay ay ako'y napakasal ng mga buan ng Sept[iembre] na nakaraan upang matahimik ang aking buhay na ito, at nang may tuminguin naman sa akin. Sa bagay na ito po'y mahihingui ko sa inio ng tawad kung bagama't aking naging kasalanan, gayondin naman, sa maguiguing parusa ay tinatanggap ko na maluag sa loob. Ang bagay na ito po'y mahirap sa loob ko ang sia'y gayonin alang-alang sa matagal naming pagsasama i paano po kaya ang ga-

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[42] *P.I.R.*, Microfilm Roll 34, document 606/2; Microfilm Roll 25, document 355. U.P. Library copy).

[43] *P.I.R.*, Microfilm Roll 25, document 355. (U.P. Library copy).

[44] *P.I.R.*, Microfilm Roll 25, document 355/2. (U.P. Library copy).

[45] *P.I.R.*, Microfilm Roll 32, document 526/8; Microfilm Roll 25, document 355/9. (U.P. Library copy).

* Antonia Jamir, Paua's first wife and a cousin of General Emilio Aguinaldo.

> gawin ko? na kung kami'y hindi pa kasal ay guinagawa na nia ang bagay na ito i di lalo na po cung naroroon na? gayundin po ang sia'y padalhan ko ng kaunting pagkabuhay, ay sa wala rin cung aco'y dumating, ...Kaya po sa mga bagay na ito, cayo na po ang bahalang magpatawad sa aking nagauang kasalanan. Tuloy inihahalic ko po sa iniong mahalagang talampakan, ang kahimanauari'y huag ding magbago ang inio pong dating mga pagtingin sa aquin na parang kapatid at anac na tunay, at kung magcagayon po'y mahanga ang ako'y mamatay na at sia ko pong ninanasa na kung ang loob mo po'y iyong ilalayo sa akin at kayo na pu bagang lahat....
>
> . . . .
>
> Antay co po ang iniong disposicion sa asuntos ng servicio at cahit po mahina ay pilit na tutuparin, itong nagnanasang kayo'y makita horas horas..., talastas mo na po na ualang sucat tuminguin sa akin kung di kayo at ang iniong familia, tuloy humahalic ng camay sa inio
>
> J I PAUA
>
> Atimonan, 28 Oct^{e} 1899

Paua wrote similar letters to President Aguinaldo's sisters, Felicidad and Hilaria, and their mother, Sra. Trinidad Famy. One cannot fail to note the humility with which Paua presented himself to President Aguinaldo, even though he was the aggrieved party. Evidently, President Aguinaldo, upon receiving this letter and learning that Paua had left his wife, Antonia Jamir, for good, did not lift a finger against Paua since it was obvious that he, too, knew of his cousin's faithlessness to Paua. It is also noteworthy that Paua, in throwing his lot with the Filipinos, not only suffered privations and sickness but also his wife's infidelity. Stronghearted as he was, Paua did not allow his personal sufferings to undermine his conviction and commitment to the cause of the Philippine Republic. Thus, one notes that he often closed his letters to President Aguinaldo with protestations of his loyalty and his readiness to serve the Philippine Republic.

Though Paua was primarily assigned to raise funds for the Republic's war efforts he did not neglect to disseminate anti-American feelings by exhorting the Bikolanos to support and/or join the fight to preserve Philippine independence, and to report conditions in the region. At one instance, he told the Bikolanos that indifference or hostility to the Philippine Republic and its struggle against the Americans is an unpatriotic act.[46] Likewise, his growing knowledge of the Bikol region led him to suggest to President

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[46] *P.I.R.*, Microfilm Roll 25, document 355/1. (U.P. Library copy).

Aguinaldo the necessity of strengthening the defenses of the Bikol region, particularly its ports, knowing that sooner or later, the American military forces would reach the place.[47] This suggestion made made because of his realization that the Filipino forces were suffering reverses. Subsequently, in the late part of September 1899, Legazpi and other Bicol ports were fortified and other means of defenses were prepared in anticipation of the coming of the Americans.[48]

The very manner in which Paua carried out his mission showed that he lived up to the expectations of President Aguinaldo. The latter's expectations of Paua were proved when Paua reported to President Aguinaldo on October 28, 1899 that he (Paua) had collected and delivered to the central treasury of the Philippine Republic the staggering amount of 400,000 Mexican dollars for the period May 18, 1899 to October 28, 1899.[49] It was an achievement of Paua that was unsurpassed by other fiscal agents of the Philippine Republic assigned to other regions of the country.

Intrigues

But in view of the fact that he was handling large sums of money, suspicions aroused that Paua was using the collected funds for personal gains. The charge against Paua's honesty and integrity was serious. And to refute the falsity of such malicious designs he sought and got the help of prominent men in the Bikol provinces through issuance of certifications to the effect that Paua's conduct was above suspicion.[50] However, Paua's fund-raising mission came to an end when Aguinaldo, in view of the futility of meeting the American forces in a frontal clash, inaugurated the guerrilla warfare on November 13, 1899.[51] With the inauguration of a new kind of warfare, Aguinaldo went into hiding. Since Paua could no longer maintain continuous contact with Aguinaldo, he joined the guerrilla forces of General Vito Belarmino in Albay.

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[47] *P.I.R.,* Microfilm Roll 25, document 355/6. (U.P. Library copy).

[48] *P.I.R.,* Box RL-11 (Paua Papers). (National Library copy).

[49] *P.I.R.,* Microfilm Roll 32, document 526/8. (U.P. Library copy).

[50] *P.I.R.,* Box RL-11 (Paua Papers). (National Library copy). The provincial presidents of Ambos Camarines and of Albay and attested by various well-known persons of the respective provinces issued certifications attesting Paua's honesty in handling the collected funds for the Revolutionary Government.

[51] John R. M. Taylor, op. cit., p. HS-EL-14; U.S. War Dept., *Annual Reports,* 1900, Vol. 1, pt. 8, p. 260. Lt. Gen. A. MacArthur reporting to Gen. Schwan, U.S.V. Chief-of-Staff in Manila reported that the inauguration of guerrilla warfare resoulted from a council of war held somewhere in Bayambang, Pangasinan,

The Period of Guerrilla Warfare against the Americans

In view of the superiority of American arms, the Filipino leaders realized that they could no longer meet their enemies in open combat. Thus, Aguinaldo, following a series of consultations with his field generals, disbanded the field forces of the Philippine Republic and inaugurated the guerrilla warfare on November 13, 1899. This strategy resulted in an underground Filipino armed resistance. The war was so bitterly fought that American field commanders repeatedly asked for reinforcements from Manila.[52] Up to Aguinaldo's capture in March 1901, American positions remained precarious because the Filipino guerrillas mingled with the people, leading U.S. Volunteer General Hughes to comment: "...as everybody was against us, there was no Judas to denounce them."[53] This precarious positions of the Americans and the effectiveness of the guerrilla warfare led to a substantial increase of American forces stationed in the Philippines. John R. M. Taylor noted that the number of military garrisons held by American forces in the Philippines increased from fifty-three stations as of November 1, 1899, to 502 by March 1, 1901.[54] The marked increase showed the extreme necessity for the American forces to maintain troops in every major town or place they wrested from the Filipinos who continued to be hostile to them.[55]

The inauguration of guerrilla warfare by Aguinaldo found Paua still in the Bikol region. Aware now of the extreme difficulty in carrying out his mission of collecting funds, he joined the

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on November 13, 1899 attended by Aguinaldo, Concepcion, Alejandrino and other Filipino leaders (p. 18-19.

[52] Teodoro M. Kalaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-249; John R. M. Taylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. HS-11; Phil. Islands. Military Governor, 1900-1901 (Maj. Gen. A. MacArthur), *Annual Report*, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 1-7.

[53] *Ibid.*, quoted in Kalaw, p. 248.

[55] Before this general Filipino hostility arose American frustrations and bitterness against the Filipinos such that the Americans commanders felt that no quarters be given to those Filipinos waging guerrilla war. For instance, Lt. Gen. A. MacArthur branded those continuing the struggle as "banditti" and "murderers" and that all persons concerned therein would be treated accordingly. U.S. War Dept., *Annual Reports*, 1900, Vol. I, pt. 8, p. 59.

forces of General Vito Belarmino in Albay. Together, they waged a relentless guerrilla war in Bikolandia and became the scourge of the American forces stationed therein.

Since guerrilla warfare was a new method of warfare, Paua and Belarmino's forces in the Bikol, as in the rest of the country, became relatively inactive until the end of the year 1899. Actually, this period of inactivity represented the time needed to instruct the Filipino forces in the new method of warfare, and the period of organizing for further desperate resistance by means of uniting the people in support of the guerrillas in the field.[56]

The Kobbe Expedition

On the other hand, the Americans, realizing the necessity of depriving the Filipino irregular troops of sources of support, sent troop detachments to the various provinces of the Philippines to gain this objective. In the Bikol region the objective was not only to suppress armed resistance but also to get the Bikol hemp industry on a paying basis again.[57] Thus, on January 15, 1900, Brig. Gen. William A. Kobbe was appointed by General Elwell Otis as the military governor of Sorsogon, Albay, Catanduanes, Samar, Leyte and the Camarines provinces. He was ordered to occupy said provinces and to establish civil government "as rapidly as possible as they are occupied by his troops" and "that the ports abovementioned be opened to trade as soon as practicable."[58]

The Kobbe Expedition left Manila on January 18, 1900, arriving and occupying the ports of Sorsogon on January 20, and its towns, Donsol and Bulan; and later, the town of Virac, Catanduanes, and the cities of Albay and Legazpi. Brig. Gen. Kobbe established garrisons in these places—first at Donsol where a battalion of troops was stationed. They were unopposed by the Filipino forces, except in Legazpi.[59] Here, Paua did not give its ports easily but fought the Americans though it was a one-sided battle. Brig. Gen. Kobbe noted that Filipino resistance "was so stubborn either from ignorance or indifference to consequences that many were killed or wounded at hand to hand range without giving any sign of surrender."[60]

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[56] P.I. Military Governor. *Annual Report,* 1901, Vol. I, *op. cit.,* p. 4.

[57] As early as April 12, 1899, a Philippine Commission meeting held at the Audiencia already stressed the sending of American troops and gunboats to the Bicol region to cut off all contacts with Aguinaldo and to secure the revenues of the region. Philippine Commission. *Report to the President,* Vol. II, (Washington Gov't. Printing Office, 1900), p. 1; also, William T. Sexton, *Soldiers in the Sun, An Adventure in Imperialism,* (Harrisburg, Pa., Military Science Pub. Co., 1939), p. 231. Sexton pointed out that the decision to secure the Bicol region was due to pressures from Washington because continued Filipino resistance in said region deprived the prices of rope and twine in the Untied States. Thus, the Kobbe Expedition was sent to the Bicol region "to get the hemp industry on a paying basis again." The expedition consisted of the 43rd and 47th Infantry Regiments, one battery of field artillery, accompanied by the cruiser *Nashville* and gunboats *Helena* and *Mariveles.*

[58] P.I. Military Governor. *General Orders and Circulars Issued from the U.S. Military Governor in the Philippines Islands.* (Manila, 1900). See General Orders No. 5 dated January 15, 1900

During the battle, Paua saw the futility of fighting the Americans in open combat. Thus badly battered, he ordered his forces to retreat, leaving, however, the city of Legazpi, especially its ports, devastated. The Americans won the battle but Paua, smarting from his defeat, henceforth made the places controlled by the Americans untenable for them to settle in. Instead of fighting in the open, Paua attacked at night and thus made the American position difficult. After the battle at Legazpi, the Americans proceeded to occupy other ports in the Bikol region like Virac on January 24, and North and South Camarines on February 13. By January 30, the ports of Virac, Sorsogon, Donsol, Bulan, Albay, Legazpi, Calbayog, Catbalogan and Tacloban had been opened for trade.[61]

A Lion at Bay

Driven from Legazpi, Paua, with only around 200 to 300 riflemen and a large number of bolomen, continued to harass the American garrisons established at the towns and cities of the Bikol region. What made Paua feared by the enemy was his scorched-earth policy and his night attacks. With these strategies, he kept up active guerrilla resistance in the Bikol region until he became a terror to the American soldiers and to the Filipino collaborators in the region. Using these strategies, he attacked and burned towns or places which he knew were aiding the American forces. He put some places in Albay on January 30, Legazpi on February 2, Daraga on February 6, to the sword and also attempted to burn the town of Donsol, Sorsogon, as examples of his scorched-earth warfare and as reminders to the Americans and their Filipino collaborators of continued Filipino resistance in the Bicol region.

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[59] John R. M. Taylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. HS-EL.

[60] Quoted in William T. Sexton, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[61] P.I. Military Governor. *General Orders* . . . , op. cit., see General Orders No. 15, dated January 27, 1900. By the month of March 1900, threats from Filipino guerrillas were minimized in the Bicol region such that by March 20, 1900, General Orders No. 36 was issued relieving Brig. Gen. Kobbe as military governor of the Bicol provinces and was replaced by Brig. Gen. James M. Bell "to complete the establishment of the customs and internal revenue offices necessary for public administration in [said districts]."

Striking at times when he was least expected and often using unorthodox method of warfare, Paua became a scourge of the American troops and Filipino collaborators in Bikolandia so much so that he was depicted as a "treacherous and blood-thirsty despot..."[62] This description of Paua by his enemies shows that he proved true to his word to make the Americans pay dearly for double-crossing the Filipino. The ferocity with which he contested every inch of Philippine soil lost to the American troops could also show his total transformation from Chinese to Filipino—in heart and in deed. It showed that though he was fighting a lost cause, he was fighting to set an example for posterity to emulate.

Paua's transformation in becoming a Filipino was total. He became fearless and in the face of adversities and defeats he remained unbending. Often, he exhorted his men to be always ready to sacrifice their lives for their country. Often, on the eve of an attack against the enemies, he would led his men to reiterate their oath of allegiance to the Philippine Republic swearing at the same time "that they will fight to the death and never flee from the enemy."[63]

The Beginning of the End

But dissensions began to count its toll against Paua's forces and that of his fellow revolutionary general Vito Belarmino. Belarmino opposed Paua's scorched-earth policy; the former wanted to fight the Americans alone and spare the civilians from the ravages of war. However, Paua disagreed with Belarmino's idea, for to him (Paua) there were only two sides: the Filipinos and the Americans.

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[62] *The Manila Times* (April 7, 1900), p. 1.

[63] *P.I.R.,* Box RL-11 (Paua Papers)—National Library collection.

Thus began the rift between Paua and Belarmino. It became irreparable when, while directing the defenses of the town of Guinobatan, Albay, an attempt on Paua's life was made by a rifleman belonging to Belarmino's command. Irked by this treacherous act and fearful of assassination, Paua left Belarmino alone to defend Guinobatan against the Americans. Belarmino tried to heal the rift between him and Paua and apologized for the incident for he knew that, alone, he could not withstand the American onslaughts. Repeatedly, Belarmino sent emissaries to Paua making peace and asking the latter to rejoin him, but Paua refused and continued to sulk. Thus the battle for the town of Guinobatan was lost to the Americans.

It was during his conflict with Belarmino that Paua came to contemplate about the lost cause of the Filipinos and his desperate position. Moreover, he had no knowledge of what befell his chief, President Aguinaldo. He also noted that American counter-guerrilla strategy was making its telling effect on Filipino resistance. The growing doubts in his mind began to make him ponder and question the wisdom of continuing to fight for a lost cause. Moreover, he knew that the people were already wavering in their support of his mission either because the Filipino situation was hopeless or that the ranks of Filipinos who were collaborating with the Americans had so greatly swelled as to place those eager to continue the resistance in the minority. Also, Paua knew that support from the people was severely restricted by the Americans following the latter's adoption of the "zoning" system.[64] He noted, too, the growing demoralization among his men and the people due to deprivations and other sufferings brought about by the war.

The deportation of prominent anti-American Filipinos and the popular agitators; the formation of a pro-American native party; the inauguration of popular local government; the holding in custody of all Filipino prisoners-of-war until such time as the hostilities had ceased, etc., added to the desperate position of Paua.[65] But above all, his desire for survival and concern for his family and men became compelling. And so, after much soul-searching Paua concluded further resistance was futile and that his surrender would help prevent further bloodshed and the restoration of peace and order in Bikolandia.

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[64] Zoning system was a counter-guerrilla strategy adopted by the Americans against the Filipino guerrillas which consisted of "detaching the towns from the immediate support of the guerrillas in the field, and thus also precluding the indirect support which arose from indiscriminate acceptance by the towns of the insurrection in all its devious ramifications . . ." P.I. Military Governor. *Annual Report,* 1901, Vol. I, pp. 6-13.

The Surrender

With his family, his staff, and some trusted followers, Paua began the trek to Legazpi in order to surrender to the Americans. Belarmino, however, got wind of Paua's decision to surrender and led a detachment of Filipino troops to dissuade Paua from carrying out his decision or to use force if Paua refused. But Paua put one over Belarmino when he outmaneuvered the latter's emissaries by subtly persuading them to a drinking spree which resulted in their imbibing one too many.[66] With his would-be "abductors" drunk, Paua succeeded in reaching Legazpi and, with his family and his staff, he surrendered to Colonel Walter Howe of the 47th Infantry, U.S. Volunteers, on March 24, 1900. What happened next may be gleaned from a Manila Times press release which stated:

> Paua surrendered to Colonel Howe of the 47th Infantry, at Legazpi in Albay with Lt. Col. Paciano Imperial on Saturday, March 24th last, and was placed aboard the S.S. San Juan on Sunday, April 1st, arriving in Manila April 3. He was promptly landed and taken at once before General Otis at the Ayuntamiento, and the latter turned him over to the care of Provost Marshall General Williston.
>
> Paciano Imperial, father-in-law of the notorious rebel Paua, and a Lt. Col. in his army also accompanied him and with the rebel general came his whole family to the number of 20, including his wife. General Williston took the two rebel officers over to the Provost Bldg. and after a brief examination had them conveyed to Anda Street station, where they are closely confined and neither allowed to converse with or see any one.
>
> . . . .
>
> He seems disgusted that he should be treated as a prisoner at all, and thinks he should be treated with all the honors of war. However, the

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[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-7; Also, U.S. War Dept. *Reports on the law of civil government in territory subject to military occupation by the military forces of the United States*, (Washington, 1902), p. 229; U.S. War Dept. *Annual Reports*, (Washington, 1900), Vol. I, pt. 4, pp. 94-95, 100-101.

[66] S. S. C. Liao, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.

[67] *The Manila Times* (April 4, 1900), p. 1.

> authorities, recognizing in him more bandit than insurgent, he will be carefully looked after, and no doubt treated accordingly...

Thus Paua remained a prisoner until June 21, 1900, when Military Governor Major-General Arthur MacArthur, acting by direction of the United States President, and thinking that the pacificaiton campaign in the Philippines would be speeded up, issued a proclamation of amnesty to the Filipino forces still waging guerrilla war against the Americans. The amnesty proclamation stated:[68]

> By direction of the President of the United States, the undersigned announces amnesty with complete immunity for the past and absolute liberty of action for the future, to all persons who are now, or at any time since February 4, 1899, have been, in insurrection against the United States in either military or civil capacity, and who shall within a period of ninety days from the date thereof, formally renounce all connection with such insurrection and subscribe to a declaration acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty and authority of the United States in and over the Philippine Islands.

. . . .

Paua was set free by virtue of the amnesty proclamation. He returned to Bikolandia and settled in the town of Manito, Albay. As evidence of the people's undiminished trust in him as a Filipino leader he was elected municipal president of Manito when he ran for said public position. With this brief stint in politics and until his death on May 27, 1922, due to cancer, he lived a retired general's life with his wife and children. Many years later, his former chief, General Emilio Aguinaldo, remembering him, paid a solemn tribute to him:[69]

> Through his unselfishness and heroism, General Paua had earned the gratitude of the Filipino nation to whose freedom and welfare he dedicated his life. He loved the Philippines as his own country...

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[68] *The Manila Times* (June 21, 1900), p. 1.
[69] Juan F. Villasanta, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

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Notes and Comments

The Ternateños

Their History, Language, Customs and Traditions

Esteban A. de Ocampo

"Mardicas" is a term applied to the original settlers of the town of Ternate, in the southwestern part of the province of Cavite. We will cite two early writers on Philippine history who made mention of this people in their works. Francisco Colin in his *Labor Evangelica* wrote: "These (Mardicas) were Malays who had accompanied the Spaniards from Ternate, where they formed a village, their name meaning 'free people'."[1] Juan de la Concepcion had the following to say in his *Historia General de Philipinas*: "Under this name (i.e. Mardicas, or Merdicas) are included natives of Ternate, Tidore, and Siao; of Manados, Cauripa, Celebes, and Macasar. They were allotted a dwelling-place at Marigondon, on the great bay of Manila . . . and theirs is the island of Corregidor, from which they give warning of the ships that they descry, by signal-fires."[2]

Meaning of the term "Mardicas".—A number of writers have attached various meanings to the term "Mardicas". Montero in his *Historia General de Filipinas*[3] called this people "men of the sea". A certain writer who signed his article as "E. V." confirmed Montero's meaning of the term "Mardicas". In 1863 while on a visit to Ternate, Cavite, "E. V." was surprised to find that the person he addressed in the street of that town was neither a Tagalog nor a Visayan. Hence he asked the man further questions:

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[1] Quoted in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 36, p. 237.

[2] Vol. vii, p. 102. Quoted in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 36, p. 237, footnote.

[3] Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas*, Tomo I, p. 327.

> — Pues que sois vosotros?
> — *Mardicas.*
> — *Mardicas*! Oigo por primera vez este palabra. Y que quire decir mardicas?
> — Significa, señor, *hombres de la mar.*
> — Y porque os llamais vosotros ú os llaman *hombres de la mar?*
> — Porque nuestros antepasados tenian todos esa profesion y no eran de esta tierra: vinieron de muy lejos a Manila trayendo el Santo Niño.[4]

On the other hand other writers maintain that "Mardicas" simply mean "free people." Thus, Colin, whose work has been cited above, said: "These (Mardicas) were Malays who had accompanied the Spaniards from Ternate, where they formed a village, their name meaning 'free people'."[5] Father Juan de Plasencia who wrote his *Costumbres de los Tagalos* in 1589 referred to the *maharlicas* (variation of "Mardicas") as free-born nobles in this wise: "In addition to the chiefs, who corresponded to our knights, there were castes: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The nobles were the free-born whom they call *maharlica.* They did not pay tax or tribute to the dato, but must accompany him in war, at their own expense."[6]

The late Filipino scholar, Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, while on a visit to Ternate in February, 1925, told the Ternateños that "mardicas" does not mean "men of the sea" but "free men" or "nobles". Director Eulogio B. Rodriguez of the National Library who was with Dr. Pardo de Tavera's party in that trip to Ternate, reported as follows:

> Vosotros no debeis confundir el significado de la palabra 'Mardigas,' dijo el Dr. Tavera a algunos nativos de ternate. 'Mardigas' o 'Maharlica' no quiere decir 'hombre del mar,' como generalmente se traduce aque, sino hombres nobles u hombres libres—no esclavos. En sanscrito, 'marhardahika' quiere decir un hombre rico, de talento o

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[4] *Revista de Filipinas,* Vol. I, No. 20 (April 15, 1876), p. 541.

[5] F. Colin, *Labor Evangelica,* Pastell's ed. Vol. III, pp. 266, 812. Quoted in Blair & Robertson, 36:237.

[6] "Customs of the Tagalogs" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 174.

> sabio. En malayo, 'mardalika', 'mardhika,' quiere decir libre, o libertad. Esta palabra es muy comun en otros lenguajes y ha sufrido algunos cambios diversos o transformaciones. En Java y Sudanes se pronuncia 'Mardika.' En Tabak 'Mardaeñoh'; en Makasar y Bugue 'Maradeka.'[7]

Dr. Pardo de Tavera had occasion to reiterate his view on the meaning of "mardicas" in a letter he wrote to Ciriaco Ramos, his host in Ternate in 1925. Among other things, he wrote:

> En cuanto a la palabra MARDICA, los tagallos la han pronunciado MAHALDICA, y no significa de ninguna manera HOMBRE DEL MAR, como algunos ignorantes de asuntos linguisticos han afirmado. MAHALDICA quiere decir HOMBRE LIBRE, o sea, que no es esclavo, porque en la sociedad filipina que existia a la llegada de los españoles, se reconocian cuatro tipos de individuos, a saber:
>
> 1. EL DATU, que era el jefe de la comunidad:
> 2. LOS MAHALDICA, que eran los hombres libres y guerreros que formaban como una especie de ejercito alrededor del DATU;
> 3. LOS ALIPING NAMAMAHAY, que eran los que los españoles llamaban PECHEROS, es decir, la plebe agricultura, industrial y trabajadora que formaba el pueblo, y que no estaban obligados a guerrear y que tambien eran libres como los MAHALDICA, pero no nobles; y
> 4. LOS ALIPING SAGUIGUILIR que eran verdaderamente los esclavos.
>
> "De manera que en realidad, MARDICA o MAHALDICA, no solamente significaba HOMBRE LIBRE, sino tambien CABALLERO o perteneciente a la clase guerrera que rodeaba al DATU.[8]

It is interesting to note that the writers Buzeta and Bravo applied the term "Madhicas" to the name of a place which they called "barra de Maragondon" (the present town of Ternate).[9]

Spelling of "Mardicas".—As may be noted in the preceding paragraphs, "Mardicas" is spelled or written in various ways. "E. V." and Colin wrote it "Mardicas". Dr. Pardo de Tavera spelled it "Mardigas", "Maharlica", "Mahaldica", "mahardahika" (Sanscrito); "mardalika" or "mardhika" (Malayo); "mardika" (Java and Sudan); "Mardaeñoh" (Batak); "Maradaka" (Makasar and Bugue). Juan de la Concepcion used not only the term "Mardicas" but also "Merdicas". Buzeta and Bravo had still another spelling — "Madhicas". However the present inhabitants of Ternate use the word "Mardicas" when referring to their ancestors.

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[7] Eulogio B. Rodriguez, "Pardo de Tavera en la Intimidad", in *La Vanguardia,* July 23, 1925, p. 25.

[8] Copied from the original letter of Dr. Pardo de Tavera to Ciriaco Ramos, now kept by Placida Dinglas de Ramos of Ternate.

[9] Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo, *Diccionario Geografico-Estadistico- Historico de las Islas Filipinas,* v. 2, p. 305.

Why the Spaniards abandoned Ternate (in the Moluccas). — We shall now discuss the events that led to the abandonment of Ternate (in the Moluccas) by the Spaniards and the subsequent founding of Ternate (in Cavite) by the Mardicas. We know that the Spanish first came to the Philippines in 1521 and established their first settlement in Cebu forty-four years later. During the first decade of the next century, the Spaniards also extended their sway in the East Indies, particularly subjugating the Moluccas Islands, including the tiny island of Ternate. With the rise of the Dutch as a colonizing power, they turned their attention to the Eastern Islands and their covetous eyes focussed on the famed spice of Moluccas Islands. Though the Castillians stationed six companies of soldiers in Ternate, still such force was considered not sufficient to ward off the attack of their enemy.[10] This fact was confirmed by Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, Spanish high official in Manila at the time, in his letter to King Felipe IV of Spain dated August 14, 1633:

> The reenforcement for Terrenate (Ternate) are what cause most solicitude; they are made at great risk, and at a heavy cost to your Majesty. That of last year (1632—0.) reached the fort with reputation, because it was carried by a powerful ship which could withstand the Dutch, defensively. The governor (of Terrenate), Pedro de Heredia, has advised us (in Manila — 0.) that it will be expedient for your Majesty. That of last year (1632—0.) reachel the fort with reputa-that it may not be endangered, inasmuch as the enemy is making preparations to await it with greater forces. Consequently, I am trying to have it conveyed by two war galleons, and to have them leave at the time considered advisable by men of experience. From now on, all the reenforcements will carry two entire infantry companies, so that the two others may return in their place. In this way that garrison will be changed every three years, and all the companies of the army will share the work equally. It is advisable for your Majesty to order the governors to do this, absolutely; for in this there has been lack of system. Your Majesty should not allow portions of companies to be sent; but whole companies should go, so that the unprotected should not be wronged, or the privileged favored.[11]

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[10] Letter of Juan Cerezo de Salamanca to Felipe IV, dated August 14, 1633, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 24, pp. 279 f.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 283.

Added to the Dutch menace might be mentioned the hardships and difficulties of living in the tiny island of Ternate which has

> an area of no more than 11.5 square geographical miles. It is, in fact, the mere pedestal on which stands the active volcanic mountain of the same name, and which rises to the height of 5,750 feet above the level of the sea . . . It has produced during the Dutch occupation no fewer than 14 different eruptions, beginning with the year 1608, and ending with 1840. In the eruption of 1840 the earthquakes lasted from the 2nd to the 15th of February, with intervals of a few hours only. The inhabitants fled to the sea-beach or took to their boats. Every stone building in the town was overthrown, and the people were on the point of abandoning the island altogether . . . As is sufficiently known, the only staple product of its soil, the clove, that which brought it trade and civilization, has been long extirpated. Sago is now, as it immemorially has been, the bread of the inhabitants, for rice is as much a foreign and imported article as it is in Britain.[12]

Then in 1662, "after the Dutch were driven from Formosa by Kue-Sing (Koxinga), the latter sent an ambassador to Manila, demanding that the Philippines submit to his rule and become one of his tributary states. Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, then governor and captain general of the Islands, refused to submit to this demand, and, fearing an invasion, ordered the Spanish soldiers to abandon Zamboanga and other ports of Mindanao as well as that of Ternate in the Moluccas, — which had been taken by the Spaniards in 1606 — and to reenforce the menaced capital, Manila. The garrison of Ternate thus transferred to Manila in 1663,* and with it probably a contingent of Mardica warriors."[13]

"E. V." who visited Ternate in 1863 and interviewed the oldest inhabitants there, secured the following information from an octagenarian in which is related the origin of the town of Ternate. Originally published in Spanish in *Revista de Filipinas*,[14] the *Philippine Reports*[15] quoted and translated the old man's account as follows:

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[12] John Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries*, pp. 430 f.

[13] *Philippine Reports*, Vol. 12, p. 228.

* On the bronze plate of the Santo Niño de Ternate in the possession of Sra. Placida Dinglas de Ramos may be read this inscription: Año de 1652 que los Españoles desampararon las Islas Molucas presidio de Ternate, los Consturales Christianos se vinieron a Manila trayendo este Divino Simulacro en la Barra de Maragondon." Plate dated 1798.

[14] Vol. I, No. 20 (April 15, 1876), p. 542.

> It is true, sir, that we originally came from a far distant country. When Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara was governor of these Islands, about the year 1654, he learned that there was being prepared a great expedition in China, consisting of many ships and thousands of men for the conquest of the Philippines. He thereupon endeavored to gather together in Manila as many fighting men as possible to resist this powerful enemy and wrote to Ternate, in the Moluccas, from whence came our forefathers, that the few Spanish soldiers that were there should come to reenforce the troops in Manila. As soon as the plight of Manila was known, vessels were prepared, and the head of the expedition asked what Mardicas wished to go to the war. Our ancestors volunteered to the number of two hundred, and came with their Spanish missionary, a Franciscan, bringing the venerated image of the Holy Child that is the patron of our church. After their arrival there was no war, but many of our ancestors served on his majesty's ships; afterwards they were assigned and to live upon, which is now known as Bagumbayan. In the middle of the last century the government had the Mardicas come here in order to protect Maragondon from the continual attacks of the Moros, and since that time our forefathers and we have been established here . . .

Founding of Ternate or "Barra de Maragondon". — From the foregoing quotation it is clear that 200 Mardicas left Ternate (in the Moluccas) for Manila. In the latter city they established themselves in Bagumbayan or what is now Ermita. It is said that Kue-Sing died and the proposed Chinese invation of the Philippines did not materialize.

As to why the Mardicas left Manila, the writer "E. V." had this to say:

> Los mardicas formaban, en efecto, un barrio en el antiguo pueblecito de Bagumbayan, hoy Hermita; pero eran tantas, tan continuas y graves sus quimeras con los tagalos, que se considero oportuno alejarlos de Manila. Pensando piadosamente, suponemos que los enviaron a la barra de Maragondon, tanto porque las calaberas de oficio llegan a cansar, como para que desfogasen su valentia con los moros que solian acercarse a las bocas de bahia en aquellos tiempos.[16]

P. Murillo Velarde said that "they settled in Maragondong, La Estacada, and other places, with the name of Mardicas, and I knew in Maragondong some of them who had been born in Ternate . . .[17] The Mardicas "established there (in Ternate — 0.) probably not later than 1700."

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[15] Vol. 12, p. 229.
[16] *Revista de Filipinas, op. cit.*, p. 542 (footnote).

Those who originally settled in Ternate or what was formerly called "Barra de Maragondon" numbered seven families; others say fourteen families. Among the family names of the first settlers were Pereira, Esteybar, De Leon, Ramos, De la Cruz, Nigoza, and Niñofranco.[18]

Upon their arrival at the coast of Maragondon, the Mardicas chose as the site of their new home a place near the mouth of the Maragondon River, which they called Gala-la, from the name of a tree which grew in that place. In order that they could properly keep watch of the approach of the Moro pirates, the new arrivals set up a watch tower on top of a hill, which they called Mira. The Mardicas cleared the land and tilled the soil. Being near the river and the bay of Manila, they engaged actively in fishing which, up to the present time, is their chief occupation. In due time they intermarried with the people of the neighboring villages and when their community was organized into a pueblo or town, they chose the name *Ternate* in memory of their far-away home in the Moluccas Islands.[19]

Changes in political status: population increase. — In 1851 when Buzeta and Bravo published their *Diccionario Geografico-Estadistico-Historico de las Islas Filipinas*, they referred to Ternate as a barrio of the town of Maragondon. Speaking of its houses and inhabitants, they said: "El corto numero de sus casas, el de sus almas, sus producciones y tributos van incluidos en el articulo de la matriz."[20] "E. V.", after his visit to Ternate in 1863, had the following to say of its population: "El *pueblo* es de corto vecindario (unas 500 familias), muy pobre porque tiene muy limitado termino rural, siendo la pesca la principal ocupacion de sus habitantes . . ."[21] In this connection it should be noted that Ternate was already a town during "E. V."'s visit. The Director of the National Library (E. B. Rodriguez), after referring to the participation of the Mardicas in the Balanguingui (Mindanao) expedition of 1845, stated that "En Ternate hay una poblacion de 1828 almas."[22] Ternate continued its status as an independent town until shortly after the American occupation when it became a part of the town of Naic, but such political attachment lasted for only a few years. About 1914 it was again made a separate municipality when Don Jose de Leon was appointed its town president. Two years later, Sr. Cenon Zapanta was elected to succeed Don Jose to the post of town mayor. Since then it has always been an independent municipality. The following figures show the number of inhabitants of Ternate from 1903 to 1943 (May):

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[17] Blair & Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 42, pp. 123 f.

[18] Statement of Apolinario Ramos, old native of Ternate.

[19] Tomas T. Tirona, *An Account of the Ternate Dialect*, 1923-1924, p. 13.

[20] Page 305.

[21] *Revista de Filipinas, op. cit.*, p. 541.

Census of 1903	2460
Census of 1918	2803
Census of 1939	4082
N. A. figure	4400[23]

Physical appearance of the Mardicas. — Fortunately for us, the writer "E. V." gave us a description of the Mardicas of Ternate in the year 1863. In the course of his interview with the oldest inhabitants of that town he wrote this observation:

> Se habian acercado otros indios que escuchaban esta conversacion manifestando en sus semblantes la satisfaccion que les causaban mi curiosidad, que subia de punto al reparar en las fisonomias varoniles de aquellos indios y en ciertos rasgos que indican una raza differente de las que pueblan estas provincias de Luzon. Las facciones, y particularmente la nariz, son en los mardicas mas pronunciadas que en los tagalos; su cabeza es mas redonda; la mirada es serena, franca e inteligente, y todos son bien proporcionados de cuerpo. Los cuadrilleros de Ternate, que tuve ocasion de ver formados otro dia, con excepcion de dos o cuatro, podrian formar parte de una compañia de granaderos.[24]

Sixty years after "E. V." 's visit, another observer (Mr. Tomas T. Tirona) made a trip to Ternate and wrote his impression and observations on the physical aspect of the Ternateños as follows:

> The towns-people have intermarried with the families of their neighboring towns and villages, to such an extent that they are no longer outwardly to be distinguished from the inhabitants of the surrounding

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[22] La Vanguardia, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[23] "N. A. figure" means Neighborhood Association figure, which the writer obtained from the Municipal secretary of Ternate in May, 1943.

[24] *Revista de Filipinas, op. cit.*, pp. 541 f.

> country. The only exception I might make concerns the physical exterior of a number of old men and women who appeared to be taller and better built, of a deeper brown color, and with sharp eyes and higher noses than are typical of the Tagalog. These traits I was quite unable to find again in the younger generation of boys and girls.[25]

Character of the Mardicas. — Speaking of the character of the Mardicas, a teacher who has been a long resident of Ternate wrote:

> The Mardicas or first inhabitants of Ternate were very religious. They were Roman Catholics and lovers of *anting-anting*. They were industrious and most of them were fishermen. They loved the sea and were not afaird of the dashing waves. They were very peaceful and their union was unquestionable. They lived together as one family. They respected their elders as they loved their God. They worked on each of the six working days of the week and rested on Sunday. People caught doing manual labor on Sundays were punished.
>
> One marked characteristic of the Mardicas was their high-bridged noses and the dark complexion of their skin. They were good fencers and wrestlers. They were smokers and good drinkers of liquor.[26]

The Spanish government recognized the remarkable bravery of the Mardicas by employing them in fighting the pirates that ravaged the Filipinos and in suppressing Filipino uprisings. In 1661 mention of the Mardicas is made in connection with the wiping out of the Malong rebellion in Pangasinan. Diaz who gave an account of the insurrections by the Filipinos, wrote in his book *Conquistas*, pp. 568-590, at the same time giving reference to the bravery of the Mardicas in this wise:

> Soon Don Andres Malong (leader of the revolt) repented of having separated so large a number of troops from the main body of his army, when, on the ninth of January (1661—0.), General Ugalde gave the signal for hostilities by way of Lingayen; and on the 17th of the same month the commander, Francisco de Esteybar, came unexpectedly with all the strength of the Spanish army. The rebels of Binalatongan had torn down and burned the bridge, which was built of planks — a difficulty which might prove an obstacle to the courage of Francisco de Esteybar, but a courageous soldier named Cristobal de Santa Cruz, with two bold *Merdicas*, made the crossing easy. The latter leaped into the water, swimming, and the Spaniards walked upon their shields or bucklers; and in this way, fastening together all the logs and

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[25] T. T. Tirona, *An Account of the Ternate Dialect*, 1923-1924, p. 16.

[26] Gorgonio D. Reyes, "Customs, Traditions, and Religious Beliefs of the People of Ternate," p. 1.

> bamboos that they could collect, they made a raft large enough to transport on it the infantry.[27]

The Mardicas also served in the Spanish ships. An instance of this may be cited when Governor Don Gabriel Curucelaegui heard of the presence of seven vessels of corsairs who ravaged the coasts of Cagayan and Ilocos in 1686. In that year, instead of sending the galleon *Santo Niño* to Nueva España (or Mexico — 0.), he equipped it for war — cutting in it many portholes, in order to furnish it with more than a hundred pieces of artillery of large calibre (all of bronze) ; and placing abroad it a thousand soldiers, Spaniards, Pampangos, MERDICAS, Malays, and Zambal Indian bowmen.[28]

As for their participation in the Balanguingui expedition, Director Eulogio B. Rodriguez, made this statement:

> Los *Mardigas* de 1845, donde mucho de ellos fueron capturados por los moros, pero que fueron despues rescatados por los españoles.[29]

"E. V." who carefully observed the customs of the Mardicas in his 1863 visit of Ternate mentioned instances illustrative of the bravery of its people. Wrote he:

> Los Mardicas son valientes y decididos: a su pueblo ni en media legua a la redonda no se acercan los malhechores. Es tal el convencimiento que tienen de su superioridad, que no titubean en salir cuatro o cinco cuadrilleros de Ternate en persecucion de triple numero de bandidos.
>
> Hace pocos dias, el gobernador de esta provincia (de Cavite — 0.) dispuso una batida general en los bosques que se hallan entre los pueblos de Naic, Indan, Bailen, y Maragondon donde se suponia escondida una numerosa cuadrilla de malhechores: al efecto, salieron en combinacion, las partidas de infanteria y todos los cuadrilleros de los pueblos citados, Unos cuarenta procedentes de Maragondon, esperaban en camino a los de Ternate, para marchar juntos. Llegan al fin los Mardicas, pero diez solamente con sus fusiles; y forman en frente de los de Maragondon y otros armados, como suele decirse, hasta los dientes, pues hay individuo de esos que parece un trofeo andando: fusil al hombro, pistola de arzon a la cintura, espadin a la izquierda, talibon a la derecha y bolo a la espalda.
>
> — Como vienen VV. tan pocos? dijo un oficial de cuadrilleros a

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[27] Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 38, pp. 176 f.
[28] Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 42, p. 245.
[29] La Vanguardia, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

> los de Ternate en tono de reconvencion.
>
> — Porque somos bastantes: — contesta un mardica con el aplomo de un soldado de Leonidas.[30]

THE SANTO NIÑO DE TERNATE

We shall now speak of the famed Santo Niño de Ternate. It is quite apparent that the religious life of the Mardicas or the present inhabitants of Ternate revolved around this holy image. This patron saint has a very interesting history of its own and many miracles have been attributed to it. It has been the subject of a long-drawn controversy between Ternate and Maragondon, for this image was formerly kept in the church of the latter town. It has also been the subject of a court litigation between the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand and thirteen pro-Aglipayan citizens of Ternate on the other, the case even reaching the highest tribunal of the Philippines.[31]

Origin of the Santo Niño. — When the Spaniards evacuated their garrison in Ternate (Moluccas Islands) about the middle of the seventeenth century, about two hundred loyal Mardicas volunteered to accompany the Spanish soldiers to Manila, "taking with them to their new country the Holy Child of Ternate, patron of their town, whose image they held in great veneration . . ."[32]

This transfer of the Santo Niño is confirmed by the inscription found on a bronze plate containing the image of the Santo Niño de Ternate:

> Año de 1652 que los Españoles desampararon las Islas Molucas presidio de Ternate, los Consturales Christianos se vinieron a Manila trayendo este Divino Simulacro en la Barra de Maragondon.[33]

Description of the Santo Niño. — The Santo Niño de Ternate is about three-fourths of a meter tall, with the right hand lifted shoulder-level high holding a cane, while the left hand holds a globe with a cross on top of it. It has a saber tied to its belt.

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[30] Revista de Filipinas, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

[31] See "Nicomedes Ibaña et al. vs. La Iglesia Catolica Apostolica Romana" in *Philippine Reports,* Vol. 12, pp. 227-241.

[32] Montero, *Historia General de Filipinas,* I:237, quoted in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.,* Vol. 12, p. 228. (See also *Revista de Filipinas, op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 539-46)

[33] The bronze plate is owned by Placida Dinglas de Ramos, native of Ternate. The plate is dated 1798

Three fingers of its left hand are cut and there is also a cut on its head. It wears a crown inlaid with gold and a pair of slippers made of leather. Of this image, the writer "E. V." observed:

> La imagen del Santo Niño de Ternate, aunque muy antigua es de buena escultura y tendrá unas tres cuartas de alto; la tienen gran devocion todos estos pueblos y los de la provincia de Batangas. Para los mardicas es algo mas que un objecto de veneracion: es tambien su bandera, de la cual fueron separados algun tiempo a su pesar, costando esto no pocos sinsaberes al pueblo de Maragondon.[34]

Miracles attributed to it. — The people of Ternate implicitly believe in the many miracles attributed to their Holy Child. Among these may be mentioned the Santo Niño's fight against Moro pirates and the sinking of their *pangkos* (or vintas) off the mouth of the Maragondon river; causing a spring of water to gush forth simply by pressing His cane into the rock in Kay Payong (now called Pozo de Santo Niño); leaving the house where He is kept and taking a walk, as evidenced by the caretaker discovering grains of *tingloy* attached to His trouser the following morning; approaching a Chinaman in Rosario (a town in Cavite) to ask him lumber and galvanized iron sheets for the repair of His home (the Church of Ternate); etc. It is also believed by the Ternateños that their patron saint grows taller with the passing of the years, or as "E. V." said "que dicen crece todos los años un poco . . .[35]

The Santo Niño's feast day. — It is no wonder then that the Santo Niño is held in great awe and veneration not only by the Mardicas themselves and the inhabitants of the neighboring towns, but also by the peoples in other provinces, chiefly Batangas, Rizal, and Bataan. On the day of its fiesta, January 6, thousands devotees come to Ternate to worship the Holy Image, and even one or two days before and after that day many pilgrims may be seen in Ternate and its neighborhood. So numerous are the people who flock to Ternate on that day that not all of them could be accommodated in all the houses of the Ternateños. Hence there is always a necessity of putting up temporary sheds to shelter the devout worshippers. I was informed that on the day of the fiesta trucks and other vehicles are not allowed to enter the town due to the overcrowding of people along the streets of the community.

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[34] *Revista de Filipinas, op. cit.*, p. 542.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 543.

The Church of Ternate. — The church of Ternate where the Holy Child is kept or placed during the celebration of the mass was built about 1863. It is generally known by the present inhabitants of the town that a prominent and wealthy son of Ternate, Florencio Niñofranco by name, defrayed about two-thirds of the expenses for its construction, while the remaining one-third was contributed by the townspeople. The church was newly built when "E. V." visited Ternate in 1863 as indicated in his article. He described it as:

> Una iglesia nueva, de frontisficio muy bello por lo sencillo y buenas proporciones de sus dos cuerpos y pilastras . . . La iglesia en su interior indica solidez y esmerada construccion, pero carece aun de retabio, entarimado y pintura: el retablo que tiene es de perspectiva, y de entarimado sirve un tosco zagual de caña.[36]

"Lo que atrajo nuestra atencion en Ternate," wrote Director Rodriguez of the National Library in 1925, "es la particularidad de la gran iglesia en ruinas (construida hacia el año 1863 . . ." He considered the church as "demasiado grande para los pocos habitantes de Ternate, especialmente al tiempo de edificarse."[37]

Disputes over the Santo Niño. — We have already learned that the Santo Niño was brought to the "Barra de Maragondon" by the Mardicas who left their old homes in Ternate (Moluccas) about the middle of the seventeenth century. Established in Maragondon probably before 1700,[38] nothing was said about the Mardicas until 1740 when, in that year, the Archbishop of Manila "conceded 40 days' indulgence to those who should devotedly recite a PATER NOSTER, AVE MARIA, before the holy image of the Most Holy Child of Jesus of Ternate which is *venerated in the parochial* church of Maragondon." In 1769 the Archbishop of Manila again "conceded 80 days' indulgence to those who should devotedly recite a PATER NOSTER, AVE MARIA, before the holy image of the Most Holy Child of Ternate, which is venerated in the parochial church of Maragondon."[39] There is no doubt that at least as late as 1803 the Santo Niño was kept in the parish church of Maragondon."[40]

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[36] *Revista de Filipinas, op. cit.*, p. 541.

[37] *La Vanguardia, op. cit.*, p. 25. The historical marker for the Church of Ternate would be placed there only after it has been properly repaired, accoridng to Director E. B. Rodriguez, chairman of the Philippine Historical Markers Committee.

[38] *Philippine Reports,* Vol. 12, p. 230.

According to "E. V." the Mardicas served as a sort of wall to protect the people of Maragondon from the attacks of the Moro pirates, and in return for this service their Santo Niño was taken away from them.[41]

During the time that the Holy Child was kept in the church of Maragondon, the custom of celebrating its feast day consisted in allowing the Mardicas to take their patron saint to their barrio one or two days before the date of the fiesta. In Ternate it was placed in the chapel made of cogon and bamboo. However, in 1804, the parish priest of Maragondon was given by the superior church authorities the discretionary power to suspend the celebration scheduled to take place in the barrio of Ternate that year. When the parish priest made known his decision to suspend the fiesta in Ternate, the Ternateños pleaded for the reconsideration of the priest's decision, but in vain. Just the same the Ternateños made preparation for the grand fiesta in their barrio. On the day of their celebration an anxious crowd clamored for their Santo Niño, so a group of the leading Mardicas held a council and decided as to what course of action they should take. Finally, they chose seven of their bravest men who, being fully armed, were sent to Maragondon with orders to get the Santo Niño from the church there at whatever cost. Needless to say the seven picked men succeeded in bringing the patron saint back to their barrio amidst the general rejoicing of the Mardicas.

Between 1804 and 1855, then, the Holy Child was not in Maragondon, "but was kept in a box in a private house in the barrio (of Ternate — 0.) by the *mayordomo* of the *cofradia*, and that every Friday it was taken to the chapel, where it was worshipped."[42]

> About 1863 a church was built in Ternate and the image was immediately located therein, where it remained until 1896. At the outbreak in Cavite of the rebellion against Spain of that year, the parish

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[39] *Philippine Reports*, Vol. 12, p. 230.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 231.
[41] *Revista de Filipinas, op. cit.*, p. 543.
[42] *Philippine Reports*, Vol. 12, p. 236

> priest, a native of the Islands, fled to the mountains and from that retreat ordered the president of the pueblo of Ternate to take the image from the church and bring it to the mountains. This was done and it there remained until the amnesty of 1897, when it was returned to the Church of Ternate. It there remained until 1903, when a party of men, among whom were some of the plaintiffs, entered the church during the absence of the priest, seized the image, carried it out and placed it in a chapel of the Independent Filipino Church in the same pueblo of Ternate. Under orders of the executive branch of the Government it was taken therefrom by a military force of scouts, placed in the Church of Maragondon, and the persons taking it from the church of Ternate were prosecuted for robbery. That case was dismissed, and the image ordered to remain in the custody of the Roman Catholic priest of Maragondon in the church of the pueblo until the right thereto could be determined in a civil judicial proceeding.[43]

The Supreme Court of the Philippines in December, 1908, through Justice Charles A. Willard, decided the ownership of the Santo Niño in favor of the Roman Catholic Church. However, the Holy Image is now kept in the town of Ternate by the representatives of the Catholic church of that community.

Care of the Santo Niño. — In view of the fact that at present (1943—*Ed.*) the Ternate church is in need of repairs and that there is no resident priest in that town, the image of the Holy Child of Jesus is not kept in the dilapidated church, but a congregation or *cofradia* of devout Ternateños take turns annually in keeping and safeguarding their patron saint. It is brought to their church only on Fridays and other special days for the people to venerate and worship. At present the parish priest of Maragondon goes to Ternate every Friday to officiate in the mass, while the Santo Niño is now kept in the house of Rafael de Leon, a member of the *cofradia* of the Catholic church of Ternate.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE MARDICAS

The Sakale-li dance. — The original settlers of "Barra de Maragondon" brought to their new home the dance which they called *sakale-li.* This was a type of war dance in which a pair of warriors fight with each other with the accompaniment of a drum called *tambor* or *tamboril.* It is said that during the Spanish regime each town of the province was asked to stage a show or exhibition typical of each pueblo to be presented in the provincial capital on the occasion of the latter's annual fiesta. In compliance with this request, the Ternateños would send to Cavite (the provincial capital) their best *sakale-li* dancers.

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[43] *Philippine Reports,* Vol. 12, p. 236.

In Ternate the dance was performed during the celebration of the town fiesta or at the request of a visiting high official. A vivid description of the *sakale-li* dance is given to us by the writer "E. V." who witnessed its performance during his trip to Ternate in 1863.

> Uno de los rasgos caracteristicos de los vecinos de Ternate es la buena con que se prestan á complacer al forastero que puede necesitar sus servicios, y en buen humor que se retrata en sus caras alegres y expansivas, asi como su buen sentido para apreciar lo que es justo y conveniente . . .
>
> Y los mardicas, no tienen sus bailes de cuando en cuando?
>
> Como no? Ahora los vera V. señor.
>
> Cinco minutos despues se presenta en la calle y delante del balcon un hombre tocando un tamboril; se forma un gran corro, y aparecen dos jóvenes mardicas armados de lanza y rodela: hacen una cortesia a los que estabamos en el balcon, y al compas agitado del tamboril, principian el mas descomunal simulacro de combate á lanza. Que molinetes: que saltos y que destreza en el parar los golpes! A poco rato dejaron sus lanzas. Entonces salieron dos viejos armados de sables, que esgrimieron tambien con notable maestría. Cesan los viejos, y salen dos chicos armados de cañas figurando sables, y bailaron tambien su danza guerra al compás del tamboril, con una ligereza y buenos golpes de ataque y defense, que hubieran hecho honor a un moro joloano.
>
> Los mardicas habian querido indicar, sin duda, con su triple simulacro, que si es apta para la guerra su juventud, no lo son menos los ancianos, y se prepara a serio la generacion que viene. Brava gente!
>
> Por lo visto, nos dijimos, hasta en sus diversiones son belicosos los mardicas; pero el bello sexo, siempre dulce, tendra otra mas armonia con su delicado organismo y sus constumbres sedentarias. Es preciso hacer bailar alguna de estas indias a ver si les da por lo fino, como las de Bulacan y Nueva Ecija, que bailan la polka, ó conservan aun la zarabanda, las folias, y alguna otra danza propria de ellos, o españoles contemporanea del D. Sabiniaño Manrique de Lara cuyo nombre conservan los mardicas con veneracion.
>
> — Tambien bailarán las mujeres en este pueblo? digamos a uno.
>
> — Si, señor, contestó.
>
> — Y á una seña del interlocutor, salen del corro dos individuas, se arman de cañas figurando sables, hacen una profunda cortesía al

> balcon, suena el tamboril y principia entre ellas un teje maneje de cañosos, no sin aire y destreza propios de la esgrima malaya, que nos hizo pensar si las combatientes estaban saldando algunas cuentas atrasadas en aquel palenque público. No se pegaban en la cabeza, pero si ponia cada una toda su intencion y habilidad en aplicar buenos cintarazos en las piernas de la enemiga: y en esta lucha, cañazos, terminando así la funcion de baile.[44]

At the present time the *sakale-li* dance is practically forgotten in Ternate. We were informed that there are only two old persons who can still perform it, while the younger generation have learned the modern ballroom dances. It is suggested that this typical dance — the *sakale-li* — should be preserved by the Ternateños at least.

Songs and nursery rhymes. — Not a single song of the original Mardicas who settled in Ternate, Cavite, has been found nor preserved. Their songs are either in Tagalog or in Spanish. Of course the young men and young women have their songs in English, while the children in school are now learning the popular Japanese songs. In the barrio of San Jose (Ternate), we met an old woman, about ninety years old who, after repeated persuasion, sang for our pleasure three songs — two in Spanish and one in Tagalog. Before leaving Ternate we found a song sung in the Ternate dialect, a song which is similar to the one sung by the young men of the city of Cavite.[45] Written in the Ternate dialect, the song runs as follows:

ALMA MIA

Ay! Nena del alma mia,
Si bo quieri ka sá kumigu
Di yubá yo con bo ayá
Na kasa de kel piskál
Ta huntu el dos testigu
Pate el padrinu
Para bo no regaña kumigu
Para tieni ke testigar.
Aba! naku! komu tamieng ansina
Akel bo nana masiyao rabiosa.
Yanda na prente de mi bintana,

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[44] *Revista de Filipinas, op. cit.*, pp. 544-545.
[45] See A. B. German, *The Spanish Dialect of Cavite*, p. 76.

Ya molmura kumigu
Pate mi tripa kieri rancá.[46]

For the entertainment of their children, the Ternateños have some nursery rhymes. Some of these are intended for children's games while the others are designed to create fun or humor. Among those used in play are the following:

Pang-pang vinu-vinu,
Matalu manalu.

Pasa orden. ("Convento".)
Kuleting-kuleting,
Saka piedra (or any object).

Piko-piko Margarita,
Carra puerta na Garita.
Tiririk, Tiririk.

Niña, niña, Manuela
Corri el ki tieni piedra.

Telong-Telong kaska bel
Pasa Molukas kita kel.

Ñgiyao, ñgiyao,
Tumbá el grandi pescao.

The other rhymes intended to create fun or humor or simply to entertain the little kids are as follows:

Corte, arañas, cortés,
Bomba kuwitis, busca pies,
Uno, dos, tres,
Ñol Diego cojo un pies.

Hereng-heran tut,
Tira un pedo, mabantut.

Hil bang hil,
Dieci-ocho, dieci-nuebe, mil.

Niña, niña, no mina
Porki banka di tumba
Pobre bos tata di paga.

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[46] This song was written for us by B. R. Velasco and Librado Federico, both natives of Ternate.

Other forms of entertainment. — Besides their songs and dances, the Ternateños have other forms of entertainment indulged in by the other Filipinos. These are the baptismal, birthday, wedding, and ninth-day parties. On these occasions they hire a band or an orchestra to furnish the music. Unlike the Tagalog, the Ternateños are heavy drinkers of liquor. During late afternoons or after supper groups of people gather in front of the *sari-sari* stores in the town for their *platica* or conversation. It is here that they gossip, argue, exchange views of humor, or discuss their common problems.

THE TERNATE DIALECT AND ITS "FLOATING (ORAL) LITERATURE"[47]

The Tongue spoken in Ternate. — According to the Spanish historian, Fr. Juan de la Concepcion, the languages spoken in Ternate were "Spanish, Tagalog, and their own dialect."[48] Juan Ferrando and Joaquin Fonseca, whose *Historia de los Padres Dominicos* was printed from 1870 to 1872, asserted that the "people of Ternate have preserved their own dialect (Mardicas - 0.), usages, and customs; and that up to recent times they had not intermarried with the Filiipnos of neighboring villages."[49] Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga also stated that the Mardicas "se han mantenido sin mexclarse con otras castas hasta ahora" (1803).[50]

"E. V." whose visit to Ternate took place in 1863, observed that the Mardicas saluted him and his companions in good Spanish.

> A la salida de la iglesia, y deseando conocer algunas circumstancias del pueblo y sus habitantes, dirigimos pocas palabras de nuestro escaso caudal tagalog, á un indio, para preguntarle donde era el tribunal y la casa del gobernadorcillo; pero el indio que no las entendió o fingió no entenderas, nos pregunto en *claro castellano*, con la sonrisa en labios y las mejores maneras de respetuosa atencion, que era lo que queriamos.
>
> Eres de este pueblo?
> —Si señor, contestó el indio.

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[47] Term used by L. Y. Yabes in his *A Brief Survey of Literature*, 1936, p. 8.
[48] *Historia General de Filipinas,* Vol. VII, p. 102.
[49] Quoted by T. T. Tirona in *An Account of the Ternate Dialect*, p. 20.
[50] *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*, ed. by Retana, Vol. I, p. 310.

—Hablas el castellano?
—Si señor, y *todos de Ternate.*
—Como así? pues no sois tagalos?
—No señor.
— Visayas acaso?
—Tampoco señor.
—Pues que sois vosotros?
—Merdicas.[51]

From the foregoing quotations it is obvious that the Mardicas during the third quarter of the last century not only used Tagalog but also "preserved their own dialect" (Mardicas) and spoke "clear Spanish". But today, after the lapse of three-quarters of a century the people of Ternate no longer speak in "clear Spanish" nor have they "preserved their own dialect". What do they speak then, the reader may ask? The present Ternateños speak the corrupted form of the Spanish language, though the great majority of them understand and speak Tagalog.[52]

At this point it might be of interest to state the uses of the *Ternate dialect.* (As used in this work, "Ternate dialect" means the corrupted form of the Spanish language spoken by the present inhabitants of Ternate). While in Ternate the writer tried his best to look for any printed or written material in their dialect, but no such thing could be found. Mr. Tomas T. Tirona in his interesting thesis, *An Account of the Ternate Dialect,* has put into writing six stories or legends in the Ternate tongue. The writer has asked several educated and prominent citizens of Ternate the following questions and their answers are invariably the same:

	Question	*Answer*
1.	"What language do you use in writing letters to each other?" (for example, students in Manila writing to their parents in Ternate, and vice versa.) . . .	Tagalog
2.	"What language do you usually use in printing your programs or invitations?"	Tagalog or Spanish
3.	"What language do your local politicians use in political campaigns and	

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[51] *Revista de Filipinas, op. cit.,* p. 541.
[52] See *Census of the Philippines,* 1939, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 10, 12.

meetings?"	Tagalog or Spanish
4. "In what language do you say your prayers?"	Spanish or Tagalog

From the foregoing questionnaire, it is obvious that the Ternate dialect is not used in writing letters and printing programs and invitations nor is it employed in campaign speeches and in reciting prayers. It is simply used as the chief vehicle of everyday conversation among the great majority of the people of Ternate. In this town the stranger hears the people converse in their own dialect, though he will probably notice that Tagalog is used every now and then. It is not surprising to find a group of Ternateños speak in their dialect and then switch their conversation to Tagalog.

In the town of Ternate there are three modes of speaking the dialect. In the barrio of San Jose (less than a kilometer distance from the poblacion) it is spoken rather fast; in Pook (nearer to the town center than San Jose) it is spoken rather slow; and in the poblacion, it is spoken neither fast nor slow.

Is the Ternate dialect bound to disappear? — Mr. Tomas T. Tirona after a study of the Ternate dialect ventured the opinion about "the gradual disappearance of the dialect itself."[53] On this point the present writer is tempted to hold the contrary view, that the Ternate dialect is bound to continue to be spoken by the Ternateños although certain modifications are sure to creap into it in the course of its development. The writer was informed that several Tagalogs who married natives of Ternate and reside there rarely use their original speech but have become fluent in the use of the Ternate dialect. Tagalogs who have chosen to live in that town may not speak the dialect well enough but they certainly understand many of its words and terms, while their children in school and in play will certainly come to speak the Ternate dialect sooner or later.

In the course of the study of this dialect, the writer have visited the homes of some Ternateños residing in the city of Manila, and always he found the members of the families of these loyal

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[53] *An Account of the Ternate Dialect*, p. 1.

Ternateños use their own dialect in spite of the fact that they are surrounded on all sides by Tagalog-speaking neighbors. What surprised him further is the fact that in speaking their dialect, they unconsciously (or naturally) speak it in the same peculiar intonation that one hears it spoken in the town of Ternate. A number of Ternateños informed the writer that whenever they happen to meet elsewhere they always converse with each other in their own dialect.

Legends and Stories (or anecdotes). — Ternate is a small town but it has many interesting stories and legends in connection with the founding of the first settlement and with its Santo Niño. These legends and stories have been handed down orally by their ancestors from generation to generation. None of them have been reduced into writing until Mr. Tirona collected them as part of his study of the Ternate dialect. In Mr. Tirona's work, the legends and stories represented are the following:

1. Huang y Nang (Huang and Nang)
2. Ballenti-ballenti Peru Medrosu
   (Ostensibly Brave But Coward)
3. Embihtida Kung Manga Morus
   (Fight Against the Moros)
4. Saka Una, Bolbe Dush (Take One and Return Two)
5. Inkantau (Enchanter)
6. Maching y Pagong (Monkey and Turtle)

Besides the stories obtained by Mr. Tirona, the writer collected the following anecdotes and legends in Ternate in May, 1943:

A. Legends —
   1. The Origin of *Pulu*
   2. How the Santo Niño Fought Against the Moros
   3. How *Kanta Recio* Got Its Name
   4. The Legend of the Patron Saint of San Juan

B. Anecdotes —
   1. How the Mardicas Recovered Their Santo Niño
   2. *Pasikatan*
   3. At the *Bayuhan*
   4. The Bandits Also Danced
   5. The Robber Returned the Fish
   6. Nobody Got Hurt

The Bisayas of Borneo and the Philippines

A New Look at the Maragtas

Demetrio P. Sonza

IN BORNEO and in the Philippines today there are people who are known as Bisaya. Did the Bisayas of the Philippines originate from the Bisayas of Borneo? This question has been the subject of inquiry among historians and anthropologists for many years. So far no definite answer has been arrived at.

In Borneo, the Bisayas (Bisayans) live in Sabah, Brunei, and Sarawak. They inhabit the areas along the Klias, Padas, Lawas, and Limbang rivers in the periphery of Brunei Bay. In 1951 there were 7,866 Bisayas in Sabah, 35 in Brunei, and 1,925 in Sarawak or a total of 9,826.[1] This figure seems small, but according to Brunei traditions these Bisayas are only a pagan relic of a once much larger population which covered Brunei and which became Malay in the familiar process of cultural assimilation.[2]

In the Philippines on the other hand, it is estimated that there are more than 10,000,000 Bisayans as of 1970. Moreover, the term Bisaya (Visaya) as applied in the Philippines does not only refer to people but also to geography and language. Geographically, Bisayas cover the islands of Tablas, Romblon, Sibuyan,

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[1] John Carroll, "The Word Bisaya in the Philippines and Borneo," *Sarawak Museum Journal,* IX (July-December 1960), p. 532.

[2] Tom Harrison, "Bisaya: Borneo-Philippine Impacts of Islam," *Sarawak Museum Journal,* VII (June 1956), p. 43.

Panay, Guimaras, Negros, Siquijor, Cebu, Bohol, Bantayan, Camotes, Leyte, Biliran, Samar, and numerous smaller islands in the central Philippines. Linguistically, the word Bisaya refers to the language of the people in the region. It should be noted, however, that Bisaya comprises several closely related cultural-linguistic groups, principally Aklanon, Kiniray-a, Hiligaynon (Ilongo), Sugbuhanon (Cebuano), and Waray-Waray.

What is the origin of the word Bisaya? Many theories have been advanced in this regard. In 1926 H. Otley Beyer suggested that the name came from the empire of Sri Vijaya.[3] In 1954 E. D. Hester of the University of Chicago Philippine Studies Program commented that etymologically the name may be related to Sri Vijaya,[4] and in 1956 Tom Harrison of the Sarawak Museum wrote, "I might suggest a link to the Buddhistic empire of Srivijaya which certainly reached West Borneo in the 12th century."[5]

In 1960, however, Eugene Verstraelen, professor of linguistics at the University of San Carlos, Cebu City, raised a doubt because, according to him, linguistically the derivation of Vijaya would not be Bisaya but Bidaya or Biraya.[6] Besides, the "rhyming game" of matching sounds is not reliable.

John Carroll, also in 1960, suggested that perhaps the origin of the name Bisaya is not an empire of Sri Vijaya, which perhaps never existed, but a culture hero named Sri Visaya.[7]

From the Borneo Bisayans has come another theory. There is a Borneo Bisayan legend, recorded in 1950 by Derek Headly, which says that the Sultan of Brunei, upon seeing the beautiful land of the Bisaya, exclaimed "*Bisai-yah!*" meaning "How beautiful!"

The foregoing are all theories and speculations. Perhaps we will never know the origin of the name Bisaya. Be that as it may, it would be too much if we take it as a mere coincidence that two peoples, separated by a thousand miles of water, would be carrying the same name. There must be a connection between them.

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[3] Quoted in Elizabeth L. Hassel, "The Sri Vijayan and Majapajit Empires and the Theory of Their Political Association with the Philippine Islands," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, XVIII (March 1953), p. 35.

[4] E. D. Hester, *The Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of* 1572 (Chicago; Chicago University, 1954), p. 5.

[5] Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 46 fn.

[6] Eugene Verstraelen, "An Essay Towards a Historical Description of Tagalog and Cebuano Bisaya," *Philippine Studies*, VIII No. 3 (July 1960), p. 514 fn.

[7] Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

This is what I would like to find out in this paper.

The oldest reference to the Bornean origin of the Bisayan people of the Philippines is found in the *Maragtas*, a traditional account of the coming of the Bornean migrants to the Philippines. The first two versions of this account were recorded by Fr. Tomas Santaren in Janiuay, Iloilo, in 1858, who said that he copied them from old manuscripts written in romanized Ilongo. These versions were first published in 1902.[9] English translations of the Santaren texts of the *Maragtas* were published in a limited edition by the University of Chicago in 1954. These texts, however, show that Fr. Santaren himself composed the two versions, basing them on several manuscripts in his possession.[10]

Another version of the *Maragtas* is that of Pedro Monteclaro, first published in 1907,[11] which, like the Santaren texts, is not also a transcription nor a translation but a composition based on old writings. The many Spanish words found in both the Santaren and Monteclaro versions show that the two authors have made interpolations in the account and hence, their texts are probably of 19th century vintage.

It is regrettable that no copies of the earlier accounts could be found. This being so, the *Maragtas* does not carry the weight of early historical documents like the Povedano manuscripts[12] and the Pavon manuscripts.[13] The *Maragtas* account remains a legend, a tradition, or a folk-history.

We have to resort to other more historically accepted sources, if there are any, to prove that the Bisayas of the Philippines are related to the Bisayas of Borneo.

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[8] Derek Headly, "Some Bisaya Folk-Lore," *Sarawak Museum Journal*, V (September 1950), quoted by Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[9] Angel Perez, *Igorrotes: Estudio Geografico y Etnografico sobre Ilgunos Distritos del Norte de Luzon* (Manila, 1902), Appendix.

[10] Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 505

[11] In the Hiligaynon newspaper, *Kadampig sang Banwa*, Iloilo, 1907.

[12] Written by Diego Lope Povedano in Negros, 1572 and 1578. English translation by James A. Robertson published by the University of Chicago in 1954.

[13] Written by Jose Ma. Pavon in Negros, 1838-1839. English translation by James A. Robertson published by the University of Chicago in 1957.

When the Spaniards came to the Philippines in 1521, they did not hear of the Bisayas although they reached the region and recorded many names like Zugbu, Mactan, Bohol, Cagayan and even Borney which they passed on their way to the Moluccas. The expeditions that followed Magellan also failed to note the name Bisaya as applied to the islands of the Central Philippines, although they learned of a port of Bisaya somewhere in eastern Mindanao. And after Legazpi had established the first permanent Spanish settlement in Cebu in 1565, he gave the name *Pintados* to the people of the Bisayan islands because the natives had tattoos on their bodies.[14]

It was not until Legaspi had transferred his headquarters to Panay in 1569 that he learned of the existence of the Bisayas.

These facts tend to show that at the time of the Spanish arrival the term Bisaya was only applied to the people and language of Panay and Negros. Povedano, in 1572, titled his writings as *La Isla de Negros y las Costumbres de Visayos y Negritos.*

Yet it is intriguing to note that in the same work and in his manuscript of 1578, Povedano states that the people of Negros were the Higuecina, who lived along the coast; the Haraya who lived on the lowlands; and the Igneine who lived in the uplands.[15] The same observation was made by Loarca in Panay in 1580, who added that the Higuecinas were also called Yliguenes[16] which I think is the present day Hiligaynon. Loarca also noted that the Yliguenes believed that the soul of the dead went with the god Siburenen to a very high mountain in Borney.[17]

In 1570, when Martin de Goiti invaded Manila from Panay, an anonymous chronicler wrote the first reference to Bisayas by the Spaniards:

> The necessary preparations having been made for this expedition,

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[14] Miguel de Loarca in his *Relacion de las Filiipnas*, 1580, In Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*: 1543-1898 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Publishing Co., 1902-1909), vol. 5, pp. 115-117, says, "The men tattoo their entire bodies with very beautiful figures, using therefor small pieces of iron dipped in ink."

[15] Rebecca P. Ignacio (tr.), *The Povedano Manuscript of* 1578, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954), p. 9.

[16] Loarca, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Loarca also applied the term Yligueynes to coast-dwelling Cebuanos and Boholanos but I think the name was applied only to the people living in coastal areas of eastern Panay and western Negros.

[17] *Ibid.*

> the master-of-camp and the said captain embarked in two of our small ships, with three large pieces of artillery, and accompanied by fourteen or fifteen ships of the Pintados Indians, our friends, who in their own language are called Viseys. They sailed out of the river of Panay in the year of seventy, above mentioned, on the third of May, the day of Sancta Cruz.[18]

It is my opinion, therefore, that the name Bisaya first applied only to the people of Panay and Negros. Perhaps it was only the Hiligaynon (Higuecina, Yliguene) who carried the name or maybe the Hiligaynon, Haraya and Igneine collectively referred to themselves as Bisayas. The name must have been applied to the rest of the islands in Central Philippines only later by the Spaniards. That the Bisaya of Panay and Negros would give their name to the people of the other islands may be deduced from the fact that Oton and later Arevalo and Iloilo became the center of Spanish activities in the south for many years.

Another theory may also be presented in this respect and it is that people from Panay immigrated to the neighboring islands just as the *Maragtas* says. Official census figures during the Spanish period show that Panay, particularly Iloilo, was the most densely populated place in the Philippines. As late as 1857, the census figures showed Iloilo as the biggest province in population having more people than Manila itself.[19]

Contemporaneous to the time Legaspi discovered the existence of the Bisayas in Panay, the Europeans learned of the existence of the Bisayas in Borneo. A map in Florence, Italy, dated 1563, shows the name Bisaya for the territory immediately north of Brunei Bay.[20] A Dutch historian, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, included in his book published in 1595 a map of the East Indies which also shows the name Bacaija in the same place in Borneo.[21]

In 1578 and 1579, only a few years after the Spanish conquest of Manila, the third governor-general of the Philippines, Francisco de Sande, organized two expeditions to conquer Brunei. During his first expedition, a Spaniard and two Filipinos were captured by Sultan Lijar (Saif-ul-Rejal)[22] of Brunei. In his letter to Sultan Lijar demanding release of the captives, Sande referred to them as "a Spaniard, named Diego Felipe, and two Christian Visayans, whose names he does not know."[23] By 1572, therefore, the Spaniards had already started calling Cebuanos as Visayans.

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[18] In Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 147.

[19] John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859), p. 111.

[20] Noted by Robert Nicholl, *The Sarawak Gazette*, April 30, 1960.

[21] Reproduced in C. A. Gibson-Hill, "Singapore Old Straight and New Harbor," '*Memoirs of the Raffles Museum*', No. 3 (December 1956), p. 10.

The invasion by Sande of Brunei is very relevant to our study because one of the reports, dated March 22, 1579, states that Sultan Lijar summoned "all his Bisayan and Moro allies to build a fort . . ."[24] and that Sande received an intelligence report that Sultan Lijar was hiding in "the river of Bisayans in the province of Melano, near to Saragua."[25]

These statements reveal that at the time of Spanish conquest of the Philippines, the Bisayans of Borneo were living in the province of Melano. This indicates possible affinity between the Bisayans and present day Melanao who live along the coast of Sarawak from the mouth of the Rejang River to the mouth of the Baram River. If the Borneans mentioned in the *Maragtas* account were Bisayans, they must have come from the River of Bisayas in the province of Melano near to Saragua.

A statement by R. A. Bewsher who had worked among the Bisayas in the Limbang area in Borneo may be relevant in this connection. It shows that the Bisayans had migrated from one place to another within Borneo. Bewsher says:[26]

> Limbang Bisayans suggest that their own migrations are very recent subsequent to the beginning of the Murut decline in that river, and contemporaneous with the flight of others to Labuan and the Padas River (North Borneo) under pressure from Baram headhunters upon their homes in the upper Belait and Tutong Rivers.

Here is where I would like to point out some suggested connection between the Philippine Bisaya and the Borneo Bisaya. First, I would like to call attention to the river named Saragua mentioned in the report to Sande and the Sirawagan (Siwaragan)

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[22] Sultan Saif-ul-Rejal, the seventh Sultan of Brunei. Cf. F. Delor Angeles, "Brunei and the Moro Wars", *Brunei Museum Journal*, I (1969), p. 123.

[23] Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 152.

[24] Affidavit of Si Magat recorded by Juan Arce, Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 198.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] B. A. Bewsher, "Bisayan Accounts of Early Bornean Settlements in the Philippines Recorded by Father Santaren," *Sarawak Museum Journal*, VII (June 1956), p. 48.

River in Panay where the Borneans of the *Maragtas* were supposed to have landed. It is possible that the Borneans of the *Maragtas* named the river in Panay after the river in Borneo. The difference in spelling may just have been due to the Spaniards' known difficulty in spelling words ending in "n" and "ng". For example, they shortened Ilong-Ilong to Iloilo, dropped the "g" from Ilong, and spelled Hiligaynon as Yliguene.

Second, the *Maragtas* says that Datu Puti and his companions fled Borneo because of the oppressive rule of Sultan Makatunao. Among the Melanaus there is a tradition that says:

> Over five hundred years ago, before the coming of Islam, the Melanaus were all pagans and were ruled by their own chiefs, the most famous of whom was the legendary Tugau, who dwelt in the Retus, a tributary of the Igan . . . Tugau . . . though himself strong enough to challenge the might of Brunei . . . after two decisive victories by the Sultan's forces the Melanaus were beaten and their territory, from the Tutong to the Igan, became a part of the Brunei empire.[27]

It is possible, and this theory was first advanced by Carroll, that before the advent of Islam, a chieftain named Makatunao (Tugao, Megat Tung-ao, Maha Tung-ao) gained power in the area of the Retus and Bintulu River. This Melanau chieftain oppressed the people in "the river of Bisaya" (now known as the Bintulu Melanau) thereby causing a large group headed by Datu Puti, Datu Sumakwel, Datu Paiburong, and others, to leave. On their *beniday*[28] they sailed towards the northeast until they reached Panay where they settled. These *Maragtas* people became the Haraya-speaking inhabitants of Panay. Datu Puti later returned to Borneo, enlisted the aid of the sultan of Brunei and attacked Makatunao in his stronghold of Odtojan (Tutong?). Makatunao was able to repel this attack. Later, perhaps after ten years when Labawdonggon and Paibare, the sons of Datu Paiburong of Iloilo, had grown up to be strong warriors, they led the Brunei forces in a second assault against Makatunao, killed him, sacked his city, and brought the survivors to Panay as slaves.

The victory also resulted in Brunei domination over the Retus and Bintulu Rivers. In subsequent years migrations from Borneo to Panay continued, the migrants coming from different Borneo cultural-linguistic groups like the Kalimantans, Kedayans, Bisayas, Muruts, Dusuns, Tutongs, etc. The later migrants became the Hiligaynon-speaking Bisayans of the Philippines. The *Maragtas* account says that the Borneans who came to Panay were from different places in Borneo which explains the differences in language.

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[27] See R. G. Aikman, "Melanaus" in Tom Harrison, *The Peoples of Sarawak* (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1959)

[28] In Kiniray-a *Biniday* (*Biniray*) means "has sailed" or "sailing", from *Biray*, to sail.

The later migrants to Panay and other islands pushed the Kinaray-a-speaking inhabitants towards the interior just as the latter had earlier pushed the proto-Malay (Igneine) to the uplands. By the time the Spaniards came, there might still have been migrations going on from Borneo to the Bisayas.

While this is just a theory, it somehow gives support to the *Maragtas*. We should also recall, as mentioned earlier, that Loarca noticed that among the Yliguenes (Hiligaynons) there was still a belief that when they died their soul would go to a high mountain in Borneo. This belief could have been a vestige of their religious beliefs in Borneo.

Bewsher's statement on the Limbang Bisaya migration from the upper Tutong and Belait rivers is also significant. It shows that the Bisayan migration was from areas to the south and nearer the Bintulu Melanau which has been suggested as "the river of Bisayas."

Another supporting evidence of the Borneo-Philippine Bisaya connection is language. In 1958, Father Francisco Araneta and Father Miguel Bernad of the Ateneo de Manila University, on invitation of the Sarawak Museum, stayed for a time with the Bisayans in Borneo and made a study of their language. Their study disclosed significant similarities, both in vocabulary and usage, between the Borneo Bisayan and Philippine Bisayan (Ilongo, Cebuano) as well as Tagalog.[29]

It may also be of interest to point out, in this connection, that Tagalog is very similar to Ilongo although a sea divides the Tagalog region from Panay while it is very different from Pampango although the Tagalogs and the Pampangos live on the same plain in central Luzon.

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[29] F. Araneta and M. A. Bernad, "Bisayans" of Borneo and the "Tagalogs" and "Visayans" of the Philippines," *Sarawak Museum Journal,* IX (July-December 1960), pp. 542-564.

The *Maragtas* says that from Panay, Datu Balensusa and Datu Dumangsil settled at the mouth of the river Taal and from them sprang the Tagalog people.[30]

To cite some examples of vocabulary similarities between the Bisaya (Ilongo) and the Borneo Bisaya, here are the following:

English	*Ilongo Bisaya*	*Borneo Bisaya*
Father	Amay	Hamat
Son	Anak	Anak
Husband	Bana	Lakih*
Head	Ulo	Ulu
Eyes	Mata	Mato
Neck	Liog	Liao
Bird	Pispis	Maanok**
Dog	Idu	Asu***
Sea	Lawod	Laut
Island	Pulo	Pulao
Stone	Bato	Battu
Mountain	Bukid	Bukid
I	Ako	Aku
You	Ikaw	Ikkao
That	Ina	Inah
What	Ano	Anh
Walk	Lakat/Panaw	Manao
Kill	Patay	Mamatay
Drink	Inom	Minom

A look at the map of Borneo will easily reveal that many major place-names, especially in Melanau area, have counterparts among place-names in the Philippine Bisayas. Among these place-names are Sibu, Linao, Bulu, Bulan, Igan, and Tahau. Moreover, Bewsher believes that the name "Panay" is Kalimantan.[31]

Aside from language, there are also many similarities in the tools, utensils, weapns, and other ethnographic materials between the two peoples. In the Sarawak and Brunei museums are displayed many objects of the Bisaya and Bisaya-related tribes of Borneo (like the Tutong and Dusuns) that are very much the same as those found in the Bisayas of the Philippines.[32] For example, *tadyaw* (jar) in the Philippine Bisayas is also *tadjau* (jar) in the Borneo Bisayas. Another example is *dulang* (earthern plate) which is common to both cultures.

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[30] Tomas Santaren, "Bisayan Accounts of Early Bornean Settlements in the Philippines," *Sarawak Museum Journal,* VII (June 1956), p. 26.

* In Ilongo Bisaya "laki" means paramour or man.

** In Ilongo Bisaya "manok" is chicken.

*** It is also "aso" in Tagalog.

[31] Bewsher, *loc. cit.*

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

In recent years, there has been gathering an opinion among anthropologists and historians (especially among Filipinos) to dismiss the *Maragtas* as pure myth. One of the arguments presented to support this opinion is the discovery in Panay archaeological diggings of Chinese trade porcelain wares belonging to the Sung Dynasty which was in power in China from the 10th to the 13th century (960-1279).

Critics of the *Maragtas* argue that the sale (or barter) of Panay between the Bornean datus and the Negrito chieftain could not be true because if it was true, how could one explain the presence of Sung porcelain in Panay. These critics contend that Negritoes did not carry on trade with the Chinese.

This opinion is not necessarily true. It is largely based on the belief or assumption that the *Maragtas* events occurred in the 13th century as reckoned by Beyer, Zaide, and company. Zaide estimated the migration took place in 1250 A.D.[33] Beyer put it at the first half of the 13th century.[34]

But it is possible that the *Maragtas* events happened earlier than the 13th century! After all the *Maragtas* texts do not carry any date. It is possible that the first Bisayas came to Panay from Borneo in the 11th or the 12th century and were the very people who conducted overseas trade with mainland China, Annam, and Siam.

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[32] In the summer of 1971 the writer had the opportunity to visit museums in Kuching, Brunei and Kota Kinabalu when he went on the Travelling Symposium on Museum Development sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

[33] Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1950), p. 60.

[34] Quoted by Hassell, *op. cit.*, p. 73 fn.

Despite the paucity of conclusive historical evidence, there are very strong indications that the Bisayas of the Philippines came from the Bisayas of Borneo. This writer would also advance that the name Bisaya did not have its origin in the empire of Sri Vijaya as Beyer, Hester and Harrison suggested, nor in the culture hero named Sri Visaya as Carroll intimated, but in the river BISAYA in Borneo, the home of the original Bisayan people.

This writer would further suggest more comparative studies among the Borneo and the Philippine Bisayans, especially on linguistics, ethnography, and also folklore. I say folklore because, as Bascom has pointed out, any study of a culture that does not include folklore is incomplete . . . and that "folklore may suggest clues to past events and archaic customs."[35]

Who knows that beneath the veneer of fiction in the *Maragtas* legend likes a solid core of historical fact!

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[35] William R. Bascom, "The Four Functions of Folklore," in Allan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 284.

Jose P. Laurel: a Few Reminiscences

Sixto Y. Orosa

WHEN I first came to know Jose P. Laurel in 1925, he was then Secretary of the Interior. He had just resigned as member of Governor General Leonard Wood's cabinet in protest against the reinstatement of American detective Conley whom Secretary Laurel had dismissed for dishonesty.

It was the first time a member of the cabinet had resigned from his post, and Secretary Laurel's resignation precipitated a cabinet crisis, causing all the other department secretaries to resign, presumably with the blessings of Senate President Quezon and other leaders of the Filipino participation in the government.

I was at the time chief of division of hospitals and one day Mr. Laurel and another high-ranking government official, Don Antonio de las Alas (Speaker Pro-Tempore) breezed into my office. The former was then campaigning for senator for the fourth district, and my help was solicited. Being in the classified civil service of the government, I replied I would certainly vote for Mr. Laurel. Mr. De las Alas assured me there was nothing wrong about my talking to relatives and friends in Manila and Batangas. Then he asked me for letters to my relatives in Mindoro right then and there.

After Mr. Laurel won that senatorial fight, he wrote me a nice letter of appreciation, attributing part of his victory to the work of my relatives, particularly to the Ylagans of Mindoro and my brother-in-law, Esteban Luna of Batangas. Later, Senator Laurel and Mr. Luna became fast friends and the two had mutual admiration for each other's valor.

Much later, someone informed me that Mr. Alas was working so I would occupy a higher position in the Bureau of Health. However, I sought transfer to one of the provincial hospitals so I could be a practising physician once more rather than continue as an administrator or executive. I was assigned to the Occidental Negros Hospital and it was several years after my transfer there that Mr. Laurel came to Bacolod.

There, I gave a party in his honor, inviting the prominent officials and citizens of the province. Mr. Laurel was very grateful, and told me I should not have given him so much attention. Later, I asked him to be the *padrino de confirmacion* of one of my children. As a *compadre*, he proved to be a sincere and loyal friend.

Later on, I came to know Senator Laurel even better. His wife was stricken ill and I was summoned to render her professional services. Her illness lasted for five days. When she had fairly recovered, I told the senator I did not think she would need another professional visit. He replied that his family physician had been ill the last several months and he asked me to visit him regularly, say once weekly, in the meantime. He also asked me if I would be available for calls in case of need in the family. I of course assented, adding that it would be an honor and a privilege to serve him and his family. He was then living on Peñafrancia street, Manila, and forthwith, I went to his residence regularly once or more times weekly as the occasion demanded.

Senator Laurel was very fond of arguing with his physicians. He claimed he had been reading medical books and was well posted on medicine and scientific progress. His principal complaint was dizziness which we attributed partly to high blood pressure and partly to defective vision — astigmatism, for one thing. I had a very hard time convincing him to see an eye specialist. Finally, he went to see one who prescribed a pair of lenses with double vision. For reasons of his own, the senator ordered a pair of dark green glasses instead. I asked him to order another pair that was not colored, but he never came around to doing this. Yet he complained the colored glasses made him even more dizzy!

He told me that he had been wearing eyeglasses for many years, but while he was in the Sugamo Prison in Tokyo, a priest who knew physical therapy had prescribed certain body and ocular exercises and massage for him. Senator Laurel claimed that before he left the prison, his vision had been restored to normal, thus enabling him to see from afar and to read without eyeglasses and without strain on his eyes.

He thus acquired aversion to eyeglasses, believing that his vision would come back to normal without them.

As to his high blood pressure, I had been insisting that he should allow us to work on lowering it so as not to overburden his heart. He could not be convinced that this was even a partial cause of his dizziness because he claimed he was still dizzy even when his blood pressure was low!

From the manner Senator Laurel made jokes about the medical profession, one would have concluded he did not have full faith in it. For in the presence of lay people, particularly of women, he often remarked, "My doctors tell me I am alright, but I know I am not well. For one thing, nothing seems to cure my dizziness." Quite as often, he would say, "You doctors are still groping in the dark; medicine is not yet an exact science." To this, I would counter, "Senator, the moment medicine is reduced to two plus two equals four, it will cease to be interesting, and nobody will care to study it any longer."

After I had been serving the senator and his family for about six months, I saw his personal physician. I told him, "Our ethics compels me to ask you to take over, since I see that you have recovered." He pleaded, however, that I continue my visits to the Laurel household because he still felt weak and could make visits only rarely. So I continued to visit Senator Laurel after he had moved to his Mandaluyong residence. Later, it was more often in his office at the bank.

At this time, he was often complaining that his mental effiency was at a low ebb, telling me that it then took him days to write what he used to write in a matter of hours. I replied, "How can you complain of mental sluggishness when you can still produce brilliant articles and deliver eloquent speeches?" But he insisted: "No, it is different now."

To lift his morale, I described to him the case of Dr. Walter C. Alvarez, an eminent American physician and formerly chief of the division of medicine in the Mayo Brothers Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota. Dr. Alvarez said that once he must have had sclerosis of some parts of his brain, during which time he stammered and thought in a muddled way. But then he was his old self again, one of the most brilliant lecturers in the medical field.

I explained to Senator Laurel that those symptoms were due to the lack of blood supply in certain parts of the brain where there was the narrowing of some blood vessels, and that the cure was effected by the establishment of "collateral circulation." This explanation pleased the senator very much, and he remarked, "That is what is happening to me. I am having 'sequía (dryness) general' in my brain."

I countered, "No, it could not be 'general'; it may be only in some small isolated spots." After that occasion, everytime he would give me a pamphlet or a book he had recently written, I would tell him, "Now there is no more 'sequía'; collateral circulation has already been established." And he would reply, "Well, I seem to be getting over the 'sequía'."

Once, he remarked to me, "You know doctor, I want to get rid of certain things — dishonesty, inefficiency, and po..." I immediately added: "And physicians." He said with emphasis. "No, I wanted to say 'politics'. While I do not fully believe in you physicians, I am convinced we need you."

Several times professional ethics was the subject of our conversation. On one occasion, I mentioned to him the fact that some physicians charge colleagues or members of their families for professional services rendered. He felt outraged and said, "That is unheard of in the legal profession. We lawyers are reputedly fond of wrangling with each other. Yet, you will not hear of one lawyer charging another. "Even when the case is something big and important?" I asked him. He replied, "No matter how big the case may be. These physicians who charge fellow physicians must be depraved and unscrupulous." (Note: I had a personal experience with a physician).

So much for Senator Laurel on the subject of medicine.

Once when he complained to me about some problems, I replied, "How can you thus complain? You have a good and dutiful wife, successful children who have rendered distinguished and eminent services to our country, and you are yourself still rendering them..." Before my sentence was completed, he said, "Well, yes, I have rendered services to my country to the best of my ability for about half a century. I do not care what people think of me. The important thing to me is my conscience. I do not mind a bit what people say. The thing for me is to be at peace with my conscience."

My visits to him specially at his residence often turned to conferences because, more often than not, after the medical consultations were over, he would lecture to me on government, history, political science, philosophy, and later, on economics. His obsession, since his term of office as senator expired, was economic self-sufficiency for the Philippines.

In keeping with this, Senator Laurel hated extravagance. He and his family ate simple food. When he was a Malacañang tenant, he observed real austerity which he also imposed on his own family. The only luxury Senator Laurel indulged in, if it could be called a luxury at all, was an occasional moderate amount of wine with his meals. (All the hard drinks available in his house were sent to him as gifts from friends.) Because the smallest amount of drink would make him very red in the face, many often assumed he was not sober whenever they saw him thus. I, for one, saw him several times after he had had a few drinks, when he was "as red as a crab." But even then, his mind would be completely clear and sharp, and his conversation, lucid as usual. In later years, he completely refrained from alcoholic drinks.

Senator Laurel was a grateful man who always tried to show his appreciation for any service rendered him. I for one was always a recipient of a gift every Christmas and even outside the Christmas season.

No matter how busy he was, he invariably received me, regardless of the number or the rank of the persons he might be in conference with at the time of my arrival. In parties or social gatherings, he almost invariably greeted me first. I mention these things merely because they showed his humility and good breeding. There is a saying in Spanish to the effect that, among friends, the better educated or the more refined is the first to greet the others.

Senator Laurel was very musical. He played the violin well. He also played other instruments like the guitar and the *banduria*. When Mr. Langley, chairman of the American Economic Trade panel was in the Philippines, he was given a big party in his honor at the Laurel residence in Mandaluyong.

As a number of the program, Mr. Laurel played "The Laurel-Langley March," (his own composition) on the violin, with orchestral accompaniment. Mr. Langley was so greatly pleased that he prevailed on the senator to print the march and to send him copies of it.

Senator Laurel was a dutiful, devoted husband. Years before I served as the Laurel family physician, Mrs. Laurel's health had been declining, and this concerned and worried the senator very deeply. He bemoaned the seeming inability of medical science to help her completely, and as though to make up for this fact, he was his wife's best nurse.

When I was first called to Mrs. Laurel in the absence of the family physician, she seemed very ill, and I had to stay with her for several hours because the senator, who was constantly at her bedside, kept asking me questions about her illness and the possible remedies for it. I could leave the Laurel residence only when her principal symptoms had abated.

The senator's great love for his wife was reciprocated by her fully. Whenever the senator became careless about his own health or would refuse to obey explicitly the doctor's order, Mrs. Laurel would scold him good-naturedly while he would usually say nothing. After the scolding, he would turn to me and say, "I am supposed to be a brave man. Next to God I have only one boss, and that is Mrs. Laurel. She is the only person who can scold me."

Once I was called to see the senator who was having fever and cough. When I arrived (almost immediately after I had been summoned), a nurse had already injected him with penicillin. I rebuked him for this, and Mrs. Laurel seconded me. The senator kept silent.

To spare Mrs. Laurel, the senator prepared his own coffee in the early mornings, specially on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays when he would leave the house at about five a.m. to play golf. (Incidentally, it was this writer who started the senator off with golf in 1926.) On his off-golf days, the senator and his wife often spent the early part of the morning gardening.

As is well known, President Magsaysay had a hard time persuading Senator Laurel to head the Philippine trade mission to America. One of his reasons for demurring was Mrs. Laurel's poor health. When he finally consented to go, he decided to take his wife along. He told me he could not bring himself to leave his ailing wife behind for in the event that she died, he wanted to have her in his arms in her last moments.

After the senator's death, one of his daughters told me that husband and wife had made a pact with each other: in case the senator should lay dying, the wife would call him, for her voice would revive him then and there; in case it was the wife's death that should call first, the husband would call her so his voice would lure her away from the portal of death. Ironically enough, when Senator Laurel was in his death agony, Mrs. Laurel was not at his bedside. Earlier the senator had shown signs of rallying and she was finally persuaded to go home, leaving him in the hospital. When she returned, the senator was already dead. The comment was to this effect: "Had she come just a little sooner, who knows that her voice might have indeed revived her husband?"

Senator Laurel also loved his children deeply. He was a doting father in many ways and thought very highly of them. Once, when I praised his children, he replied, "Yes, I am well pleased with them. They are brilliant." I told him he did not have to work as hard as he was doing, adding that his son Mariano could take his place in the bank. He readily agreed, "Yes, Marianing is brilliant, he can run this bank any time without my help. I shall soon turn over the management to him."

In my conversations with Senator Laurel about his children, he most often alluded to Mariano and to José B., the former Speaker.

Months before the convention that nominated José B. Laurel, Jr. for the vice-presidency, when his name was being groomed by prominent men in the Nacionalista Party, I offered my two-cents' worth to the senator, telling him thus: "*Compadre*, I am a neophyte in politics. I have not even been a councilor, and so it would be very presumptuous if I say what I have in my heart."

The senator encouraged me, saying, "Go ahead. I am always glad to listen to you." Then I continued, "If I may make a suggestion, I think it would be better for Junior to seek reelection as congressman and speaker. I believe he would have smooth sailing in both ways."

The senator replied, "We have had several family councils about that matter. Junior seems unable to resist the pressure from the party. I have always followed this policy with respect to my children: they are already of age, they have their families and careers, and if they are bent on embarking on something which in their opinion will help or enhance them, I shall not be the one to stop them." Being the good father that he was, Senator Laurel took to heart Junior's defeat at the polls.

When the hearing of the *Noli* and *Fili* bill was being conducted in Congress, a distinguished citizen declared that he was against allowing the school children, including college students, to read Rizal's two novels. Whereupon, Senator Laurel asked him, "Have you read the books?" The answer was "No." When we saw each other after that, the senator told me, "You know, I was at the point of calling that man '————.' How could an intelligent man like him possibly object to something he knew nothing about? Fortunately, the discussion did not drag on."

Senator Laurel was fond of repeating the part he had taken in similar other discussions, specifically those between the Laurel and the Langley panels. He told me that in the three months he was in America as head of the Philippine Mission, he had read thirty-two of the best books on economics. In one of the session, while he was lambasting the American economic policies and practices in the Philippines, a Filipino senator behind him tried pulling the back part of his coat several times in an attempt to step the tirade. Senator Laurel kept on, however, feeling secure in his thorough preparation on the subject.

In the following caucus of the Philippine panel, he told his colleagues, "Gentlemen, as long as I am the chairman of our mission, I am going to say what I want to say. Nobody will please try to stop me."

Another incident in connection with his mission was a press conference he gave in Washington. At that time there was a move to revise the provisions of the Trade Act. According to the senator, who was well-dressed for the occasion, and even carried a cane, he told the American reporters: "The American people have no right to judge whether or not I was a collaborator during the Japanese occupation of my country, just as much as it would be wrong for me or for any Filipino to judge the act of any American official or citizens in his country. It is only my people who can judge me, and they rendered this judgment by giving me the highest number of votes ever given a candidate for senator in a national election in which the whole country participated."

"I am sorry I cannot stay long with you, because I have an appointment with the Secretary of State. Good evening, gentlemen."

At this point, I might also bring up the 1949 elections in which Senator Laurel was candidate for president. I campaigned very hard for him then, for which he was grateful, and after the elections he gave me to understand that he was convinced he had won in the voting but had lost in the counting.

I wish I could reproduce the many pointed and wise things Senator Laurel told me on a great many topics—social discipline, our extravagance, our living a champagne life on a beer income, the stupidity, dishonesty and favoritism of some of our highly-placed officials, the "calculated sadism, delay or oversight in the disposition of important cases," and many more, but space limitation forbids.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Senator Laurel was normally and physically brave. I shall cite only a few instances to illustrate this.

One evening, after liberation, he was riding in a taxi to his Peñafrancia home. Having only twenty-two pesos in his pocket, he got off from the taxi when the meter registered two pesos because he had not wanted to touch the other twenty. He was still quite a distance from his house and as he started to walk, three men followed him from a corner. Sensing their presence, he turned around, faced the three husky men, and asked them what they wanted.

The men told him that they were very much in need of money, and explained why. The senator told them he thought they had wanted to harm him, and so he faced them. To which the men answered, "No sir, Senator, we could not possibly have wished to hurt you. Although you may not know us, we owe you favors." Senator Laurel gave them the remaining twenty pesos in his pocket. Upon recounting this incident to me, the good senator ended thus, "You see, Doctor, I wanted to save the twenty pesos, but I lost it all."

During the Japanese occupation, after Premier Hideki Tojo of Japan had promised to grant us "the honor of independence," there was a big rally in front of the Legislative Building. Mr. Laurel, then President of our Republic, spoke in his usual vigorous way. There were many *kempetai* around him on the platform, yet he found the courage to say, among other things, "After the grant of independence, we are going to send these *kempetai* back to Japan." He was wildly cheered and applauded, and I was then expecting the Japanese soldiers present to seize him on the spot.

When Senator Laurel was campaigning for president in 1949, he went to Baguio to deliver a few speeches. Early one morning, before breakfast, one major and one captain went to see him. The senator asked them, "What can I do for you this early morning?" The two officials replied that they had instructions to seize his Thompson. The senator got his weapon from under his pillow and told the two men, "My friends, you had better not insist. I have done nothing illegal. I have the right to protect myself. If you try to seize this weapon (pointing to the gun), it will fire first." According to the senator, not only did the two officials withdraw their demand, they also asked him for autographed pictures.

In a Cebu rally in the same electoral campaign, the people on the platform from which he was speaking were fired at by would-be assassins. Everybody lay down on his belly, except Senator Laurel. He remained standing in spite of the behest of his companions to lie down. The bad elements ran away after the senator's bodyguards fired back at them. Then the senator resumed his speech. Sometime after this happened, he showed me some bullets recovered from the fray and some objects on or around the platform which had been hit.

After his "defeat" in the counting of votes in the 1949 elections, especially when the sentiment for change in the administration was becoming too obvious, I kept urging him to "run again," feeling that the nomination by the NP would have been his even without his consent. But he replied, "No *compadre,* I cannot afford to be cheated, again. If another election will convince me I was again cheated, I will go to the mountains and head a revolution. That will cause our people a lot of suffering and bloodshed and I would not want that. Our republic then would be a banana republic. I love my country next to my God and I would not want that."

After Mr. Magsaysay was elected president, I congratulated the senator, and when he demurred, I said, "As though I did not know you made Mr. Magsaysay president." Then he replied, "I did not want to run. What I wanted was a change, and the people and I got what we wanted: a change."

The new president called Senator Laurel "Papa" and referred to Mrs. Laurel as "Mama." (I have seen notes from President Magsaysay to Senator Laurel addressing the latter thus.) I remarked, "I think President Magsaysay is strictly honest." I hope he and the immediate members of his family will be honest to the last."

Going back to Senator Laurel's early political career, he earned the respect of President Quezon for his courage, legal learning, integrity, statesmanship and patriotism. Once, Senator Laurel confided to me, "After each fight I had with Mr. Quezon, he liked me and respected me even more." Several times Mr. Laurel remarked to me, "I fought Quezon, I fought Osmeña, I fought Roxas, I fought Quirino, and I will fight Garcia, if by so doing, I am convinced I shall be rendering service to our country."

Senator Laurel bewailed the fact that during his confinement in prison shortly after liberation, he was completely forsaken by the highly placed government officials at the time. Even those whose lives he had saved from Japanese atrocity did not dare visit him.

After he was freed, Mr. Laurel expressed the wish to see a very high-ranking official at Malacañang Palace. He was told he could do so provided he went up the Palace through the back door. According to the senator, the first thing he said upon seeing this official was "...you are a moral coward." These biting, stinging rebuke so shocked the official, he could not say a word.

The day following the demise of Senator Laurel, while we were paying our respects to him and his family, a man past middle age, dressed in khaki, kissed the flag draped around the coffin and the glass over the deceased senator's face. Then he went to the nearest wall and started wailing, shouting and pounding the wall. As he was being led outside by two men, he lay his face on a large glass-topped table, hitting it hard with his fist. The glass crashed to the floor in smithereens. The common assumption made then was, "Probably Senator Laurel saved that man's life."

It is common knowledge that Senator Laurel helped a great number of people, touching their lives in one way or another, in his long career as a public servant. He also saved many lives from liquidation during the Japanese occupation.

In the passing of Senator Laurel, we have lost a good man, a great man who has carved an important and honorable niche in our history.

Documents

The Presidential Succession of the Philippine Commonwealth, Nov. 15, 1943 — Four Letters

I

The Shoreham Hotel
Washington, D.C.
October 17, 1943

My dear Mr. President:

The question of the succession to the Presidency of the Commonwealth of the Philippines on November 15, 1943 is being discussed in the press with such ignorance of the facts and, in my opinion, misconception of the law, that in the public interest I hereby request that your decision on this matter be made publicly known as early as possible.

THE FACTS

The following are pertinent facts:

First — That Japan overthrew the constitutional Government of the Commonwealth with its three independent and separate departments — the legislative, executive and judicial — and substituted therefor a Japanese military regime.

Second — That the Japanese invasion took place before the 30th of December 1941, the date when the President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives elected in the last general elections were to assume office.

Third — That the Congress of the Philippines which, under Section 2, Article VII of the Constitution, is vested with the power to declare who have been elected President and Vice-President for the term beginning December 30, 1941, did not, as it could not, convene to count the returns of the election as provided in the said Section of the Constitution, due to the Japanese invasion.

Fourth — That in concert with General MacArthur and High Commissioner Sayre, I and Vice-President Osmeña took the oath of office on December 30, 1941 in Corregidor as President and Vice-President of the

Philippines, respectively, without having been duly declared elected by the Congress of the Philippines. It was generally known, however, from newspaper reports that we had been re-elected President and Vice-President, respectively.

Fifth — That while in Corregidor, I received on December 31, 1941 the invitation of the President of the United States to come to this country and to function here as the head of the Commonwealth Government in exile and as the symbol of the redemption of the Philippines.

Sixth — That at the time that the invitation was extended to me, it was officially known in Washington that the Vice President, the Honorable Sergio Osmeña, was with me in Corregidor.

Seventh — That the Vice President was not invited to come to Washington.

Eighth — That the presence of Vice-President Osmeña in Washington is due to my own decision, exactly as it is the presence here of other members of my Cabinet.

Ninth — That at the time the said invitation was extended to me, the President knew that under the terms of the Constitution, if operative, I could not hold office beyond November 15, 1943; and the President also knew even then that the Philippines could not possibly be liberated from the enemy until after November 15, 1943.

Tenth — That it was I who led the Filipino people to fight by the side of the United States to the bitter end. Believing in the freedom and independence of my country, I joined the Filipino Army that resisted the United States. When I came to see the high purposes of America, I laid down my arms, and in the four decades following I have had no occasion to regret it, because every pledge made by the United States that the intervening trusteeship would result in independence has been fulfilled. I never wavered in my fidelity to the United States. Even in the first World War, in my capacity as President of the Senate, and the recognized leader of the Majority Party, I offered to President Wilson on behalf of my people, a Filipino Division to fight in Europe. When in the summer of 1939 I saw the clouds of war gathering in the sky, I called the National Assembly to a special session, and in my message I asked them to authorize me to assure the President of the United States that he could count upon the loyalty of the Filipino people and that our resources in men and materials were at his disposal in case of war. The National Assembly, by unanimous vote, empowered me to do anything necessary to muster the manpower and resources of our country in the defense of America and the liberty of the Filipino people. It is my firm conviction that the freedom of the Philippines today depends upon the lofty purposes and the might of this democratic nation.

Eleventh — That even today my people are still fighting the Japanese under my inspiration and encouragement, and the leadership of General MacArthur.

Twelfth — That I did not want to leave the Philippines. My choice was to stay with my people and suffer their lot no matter how bitter. That in going, first to Corregidor, then to the Visayan provinces, later to Australia, and finally coming to the United States, I did it only after I had been convinced that this was demanded by my loyalty to America and that it would contribute to the liberation of my people from the invader. Thus my fidelity to the United States and my duty to my country determined my course of action.

THE LAW

Mr. President, it is hardly necessary for me to state, that no one can have more respect for the Constitution of the Philippines nor be more interested in its enforcement than I. But Japanese invasion has destroyed all semblance of constitutional government and its institutions in the Philippines and it seems to me that legally I should remain in office until I am returned by the might and power of the United States to the constitutional and lawful seat of my government, and become, in fact as well as in law, once more the President of the Philippines exercising jurisdiction over the whole territory of the Philippines as provided in the Independence Act and the Philippine Constitution; and until the Philippine Congress and the Philippine courts are again reestablished and functioning in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the Philippines.

Under international law, the right and responsibility for reestablishing constitutional government and constitutional processes in the Philippines rest with the United States.

The Philippine Independence Act approved by Congress on March 24, 1934 and the Constitution of the Philippines specifically authorize the President of the United States to intervene when, as now, constitutional government in the Philippines is overthrown.

The power and authority to determine and recognize who is the head of a government in exile in Washington rest exclusively with the President of the United States.

In view of the foregoing, I have assumed all along that when the President invited me to come to the United States and to function here as the head of the Commonwealth Government in exile and as the symbol of the redemption of the Philippines, he had already decided that under the law I could, and in the interest of the prosecution of the war, I should continue as President of the Philippines until I am restored to the full possession of my powers and authority in the Philippines by the armed forces of the United States. This assumption was further justified by the fact herein before referred to, that the invitation of the President was only extended to me and did not include the Vice-President. If under the law I were to cease and be succeeded automatically by the Vice-President on November 15, 1943, he should have been invited to come with me so that the constitutional mandate may be put into effect in due time.

In the honest belief that I was to continue in office in accordance with law and the policy of the President, I have been giving assurances, since my arrival here, to the Filipino people, through broadcasts, and to the guerrilla commanders, by means of radiograms sent through the War Department and General MacArthur's headquarters, that I would return to the Philippines in triumph with the liberating forces of the United States.

We may be sure that whether I remain in office or not, the Japanese, will exploit it in their propaganda against the United States to serve their own ends. It seems, however, that the important question to consider is not what the Japanese and their puppets may say, but what the law is and what the effect will be of the action taken, upon the unity of the Filipino people in their fight against the enemy. I think I am justified in saying that the Filipino people who, for many years, have been supporting me and following my leadership, will be at a loss to understand how I could have been asked to come here to function as the head of my government and then dropped out upon the theory that the Philippine Constitution so requires. For they know that the said constitution has become a shambles and that the Sovereign Power of the United States, for reasons beyond its control, has been unable to enforce it temporarily in the Philippines.

It is publicly known and officially recorded in the Philippines that I appeared before the National Assembly to urge the approval of Section 5, Article II of the Constitution, by virtue of which a situation was created whereby if reelected I would have to cease as President on the 15th of November 1943, and the office thus left vacant was to be occupied by the Vice-President until after the general elections of 1945 and the President then elected had assumed office on December 30, 1945. It is also publicly known in the Philippines that after the approval of the of the constitutional provision just referred to, I demanded from my Party as a condition sine qua non of my acceptance of my own renomination the renomination of Vice President Osmeña.

It is unthinkable, therefore, that I should attempt, or even consent, to deprive Vice-President Osmeña of his right to assume office on November 15, 1943 if I believed that in accordance with law and the dictates of public policy, I should vaacte my office on that date. Once the Constitution is again in force and the constitutional processes in operation in the Philippines, it will be my duty as well as my pleasure to give way to the man who constitutionally is entitled to succeed me, and whose patriotism and long and outstanding service to our people have made him worthy of the highest office in the land.

In conclusion, I am happy to be able to say that although Vice-President Osmeña may not agree with me as to what the law is, he and I are in in complete accord in the view that the best interest of our country is paramount. I request that he be heard and to this end I am sending him a copy of this letter.

Mr. President, I don't have to state that if in your opinion I am wrong in my concept of the law and in my interpretation of your wishes, I shall abide by your decision.

Faithfully yours,

MANUEL L. QUEZON

The President
The White House

II

October 23, 1943

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

His Excellency Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, has given to me a copy of his letter of October 17 to you. As Vice-President of the Philippines and as a Philippine citizen and lawyer whose professional and political life has been dedicated to securing freedom and constitutional government in the Philippines, for over sixteen years as the accredited leader of the Filipinos as Speaker of the Philippine Assembly, and since 1935 as the leader of one of two Nationalist wings which I led into a coalition government with Mr. Quezon to attain unity of our people, I feel that my duty to the Philippine people requires submission to you of my views as stated in this letter. The unfaltering loyalty and very deep personal regard with which I have worked in fullest cooperation with President Quezon, are in no respect compromised or impaired by this difference to the clear duties and obligations to my people which require my dissent from the views stated in Mr. Quezon's letter to you of October 17.

In facing the pending problems as to who shall serve as the head of the Philippine Government, now exciled from our country by the tragic circumstances which confront our people at this time in the Philippine Islands, I feel that there are two major considerations — first, a legal and constitutional question and, secondly, a political question having to do with the effect of the problem of succession to hte presidency upon the morale of the people of the Philippines, their institutions, and the relations of the Commonwealth Government to the United States.

First as to the legal problem, I am sure you are aware of the sequence of events in the development of our constitution which can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. After a long struggle to agree upon a constitution for the Philippines, our constitution was finally adopted by the Constitutional Convention on February 8, 1935, providing in Article VII, Section 2, that the President shall hold his office during a term of six years and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term, shall be elected by direct vote of the people.

2. On September 15, 1939, the constitution was amended in a number of respects by the National Assembly of the Philippines and approved by the President of the United States. Three principal changes were the creation of a Senate or upper house, the revision of Article VII, Section 2, to provide that the President and Vice-President shall hold office during a term of four years, and an amendment to Article VII, Section 5, to provide that no person shall serve as President for more than eight consecutive years, counting from the date he shall have commenced to act as President.

Section 6 specifically provides that 'if a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President shall act as President until a President shall have qualified.'

Furthermore, Section 8 of the same Article profides 'In the event of the removal of the President from office, or of the removal of the President from office, or of the termination of his right thereto under the provisions of the Constitution, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President.'

The eight years in which President Quezon has served in office expire November 15, 1943, as he himself agrees. Those of us who continued to represent the Commonwealth Government of the Philippines have done so the theory that it is the same government that was functioning in Manila when the Japanese attacked the Island on December 8, 1941; this is the constitutional government of the Philippine people, established under the constitution of the Philippines. When this Government left the Philippines for the United States via Australia, upon the request of the President of the United States, it did not leave the constitution behind but carried it along as the basis for its legal existence and as the source of its powers. I believe that in your capacity as President of the United States, you have dealt with the Commonwealth Government as the constitutional Government of the Philippines, according to it the status of a practically independent Government — the *de jure* Government of the Philippines.

It would seem to me precarious as a matter of law to consider an alternative theory that the constitutional Government of the Philippines as an autonomous agency of the United States was destroyed when the enemy occupied the Islands and established there a military regime, thereby suspending the operation of the Constitution. This theory would necessarily regard the Government in Washington as no more than a *de facto* Government, functioning during the tragic imprisonment of our people until the Islands are re-taken by our armed forces and constitutional Government re-established. This argument seems to me little better than that which the Japanese advocate, for they have installed at the head of the so-called Japanese Philippine Republic men who though not the chief executives, were outstanding in our constitutional Government before the invasion, and who were already accredited leaders of the people. These men, undoubtedly acting under compulsion and facing the alternative of execution, were very shrewdly used by the Japanese to head the Japanese Philippine Republic.

The Constitution of the Philippines cannot be regarded as a mere geographical expression which ceased to exist when the Japanese occupied our Islands; rather, it is a statement of living principles and fundamental rules of procedure, constituting a social compact which the Philippine people, after much thought and study, adopted as a form of organized society acceptable to them. Furthermore, the constitution is a compact between the United States and the Philippines. It would be a blow to the morale of the Philippine people and to the validity of our accredited Government here to set aside the clear language and normal functioning of the constitution on any theory whatsoever, so long as no necessity or valid reason therefor exists.

As you have so effectively stated in your press release of October 22: 'The only Philippine government is that established by the people of the Philippines under the authorization of the Congress of the United States — the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands.

This brings us squarely to the second major consideration in determining this matter — the political one. May I remind you, Mr. President, that I write with the authority of considerable personal experience in the political life of the Philippines for I served first as Governor of Cebu from 1905 to 1906, then for sixteen years before the creation of the Senate as leader of the Philippine people and elected Speaker of the Philippine Assembly at which time I enjoyed the valuable and loyal support of Mr. Quezon, who was first Majority Floor Leader of the Assembly and afterwards Philippine Resident Commissioner of the United States.

During the decade after 1935 when the Senate was established, the leadership of the Filipino people passed from the lower house to the Senate and Mr. Quezon became leader and President of the Senate. It was then my role to serve as Mr. Quezon's collaborator, first in the House of Representatives and later in the Senate as floor leader and President pro-tempore of the Senate, where I gave Mr. Quezon full and unqualified loyalty and cooperation. Particularly has this been true since the formation of a coalition, established between the two Nationalist wings in 1935 in order to insure unity among our people. The coalition ticket was supported with Mr. Quezon as President and myself as Vice-President and in the general election of November 11, 1941, one month before the invasion began, the people again expressed their confidence in us. We took our oaths of office in the entrance of the Malinta Tunnel in Corregidor before Chief Justice José Abad Santos in the presence of General MacArthur and United States High Commissioner Sayre, the Philippine war cabinet, and other high miltary and civilian officials. This was on December 30, 1941, three days before Manila fell to the enemy.

It is for these reasons, Mr. President, and against a background of long experience in the political life of my country, that the proper course of action now seems quite clear to me. Not only respect for the law and the constitution, but also the best interests of the Philippine people require, in my opinion, that the succession to the Presidency follow an orderly, prescribed course.

Notwithstanding the foregoing factors, it is possible that those who are interested in setting aside the constitution in order that the present regime may be continued may urge the President of the United States to exercise his power 'intervene' under the independence Act of March 24, 1934 (Section 2(a) (14), which is incorporated in the Philippine constitution under the heading of 'Ordinance Appended to the Constitution' (Article 17, Section 1 (15). The plain purpose of this provision authorizing the President 'to intervene' in the Philippine Islands for the preservation of the Government contemplated internal disturbance in the Philippines, as distinguished from foreign aggression, which falls not under the above provision but under the general duty of the United States to defend its national domain, of which the Philippine Islands are a part. This seems self evident. I might add, however, that, in any event, those who argue that our constitution is suspended would appear to be impaled upon their own argument because *we are* the constitutional Government of the Philippines and, therefore, it does not lie with us, or any of us, to destroy the legal foundation of our existence by asking the President of the United States to consider our constitution suspended.

Permit me again to express my deep, personal appreciation of your intimate understanding and sympathy for our people at this tragic time in their history, and also the undying gratitude and loyalty of an imprisoned nation for the hope which your inspired leadership instills in freedom-loving peoples the world over.

Faithfully yours,

SERGIO OSMEÑA

III

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Shoreham Hotel
Washington, D. C.
October 20, 1943

My dear Vice-President Osmeña:

Yesterday evening I received your letter of October 18 regarding the question of presidential succession and I immediately sent it to the President without comment.

Since this question has been thoroughly discussed by us and you merely repeat in your letter what you told me in personal conversations, I think I should put on record my answers as given to you.

If I read your letter aright, you hold that under the Constitution of the Philippines, I must cease as President on the 15th of November 1943; that if it should be deemed necessary or advisable, in the interest of the prosecution of the war to retain me as President for the duration, that you would give your consent thereto provided it is done through Congressional legislation for, in your opinion, Congress alone can nullify or suspend the effects of any or all the provisions of the Philippine Constitution.

I have repeatedly told you that if to continue in office as President of the Philippines it is necessary to nullify the Constitution of the Philippines or any of its provisions by an Act of Congress, I shall never give my consent thereto nor, if such an Act was approved, ever serve as President. In the first place, I have serious doubt as to whether the Congress of the United States has the legal power to nullify the Constitution of the Philippines or any of its provisions when the said constitution has been drafted and approved by virtue of an agreement between the Government of the United States and the people of the Philippines. In the second place, whether it has the legal power to do so or not, I am certain that it does not have the moral right.

I am and shall continue to be President only as long as under the Constitution of the Philippines I have the right to the President.

Since in my letter to the President dated October 17, copy of which I sent to you, I state, among other things, that I had assumed all along that I would continue as President after November 15, 1943 upon the theory, besides other legal considerations, that the President of the United States has so decided when he invited me to come to this country 'to function here as the head of the Commonwealth Government in exile and as the symbol of the redemption of the Philippines,' it is pertinent to ask: Why should I give validity to the President's decision as justifying my continuance in office and not to an Act of Congress? Has the President of the United States more power than the Congress? The answer is that under the Congressional Act known as the Tydings McDuffie Law as well as under the Constitution of the Philippines, the President is specifically authorized to intervene when constitutional government in the Philippines is overthrown. So that the presidential intervention is in accordance with and *not* in violation of the Constitution of the Philippines. In other words, the intervention of the President of the United State to continue me in office until the Filipino people have been redeemed from the invader as being demanded by the best interest of the Filipino people in the prosecution of the war, would be in perfect accord with the terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Law and the Constitution of the Philippines, even if I did not already have that right.

But I do hold, as I stated in my letter up to the President, that under the terms and provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Law and the Constitution of the Philippines, I am, of my own right, the constitutional President of the Philippines, and will so legally continue until I am to actually exercise my authority and power over the territory of the Philippines.

I do not know who holds the theory to which you prefer in your letter that the Government of the Commonwealth in Washington is no more than a *de facto* organ functioning under the toleration of the President of the United Sttaes. I am sure you do not mean to insinuate that I hold that view. On the contrary, I assert again that I am the constitutional President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines *de jure* and the Japanese military regime in the Islands is only a *de facto* government.

Neither the Tydings-McDuffie Law nor the Constitution of the Philippines has ever contemplated the case when the President of the Philippines would be driven out of the Philippines by enemy occupation of the Islands and become merely a president *de jure*. It is absurd to contend that Section 5, Article II of the Constitution is applicable to a person who, because of enemy invasion of the Philippines, has been driven out of his country and deprived of his right to exercise his constitutional authority and power in the territory of the Philippines.

It is a historic fact that you and I have worked together for the independence of the Philippines all these many years and have been political associates except on two occasions when there was a political breach between you and me and when, in both cases, I came out successfully in the struggle. No one is more proud or more grateful for our long political association than I am. And I am happy to avow that even at a time when we fought on opposite political camps, our lifelong friendship was never affected.

But I must take exception to your statement about 'our joint leadership,' for it may be misconstrued by people who do not know the political situation in the Philippines as to mean that you and I have governed the Philippines *jointly* through a sort of Duomvirate. Had this been true, it would have been a discredit to the Government of the Commonwealth and a reflection upon the capacity of the Filipino people to govern themselves. Nor can I accept that the coalition of the two wings of the Nationalist Party to which you refer has been necessary for the normal and effective functioning of the Government of the Commonwealth — if that is what you mean. That you have loyally supported me and cooperated with me I gratefully admit. But everybody knows that had you chosen to oppose me, your opposition would not have prevented the carrying out of my policies, because more than two-thirds in the legislative branch of the government and of the elected officials in the provinces and municipalities were my followers who have stood by me as against you and your fellowers in our historic political struggle for leadership of our people.

I must state that during my whole administration, I alone was responsible for the administration of the affairs of the Commonwealth, although I say with a sense of profound obligation that you and all my associates in the government have contributed to its success.

Be it far from me to minimize in the least the value of your services to the Filipino people which I have always been the first one to recognize as witnessed by the fact that after each one of our political strife, I have always demanded from my followers that you be given a position of responsibiity second only to mine.

The the Japanese, as you say, will attack the United States if I continue in office after the 15th of November 1943, is doubtless true. I admit that the Japanese Government will welcome nothing better than my disappearance from the scene for they know only too well that the effect will be on the Filipino people of such action.

I have said my last word. If you have further statements to make, please send them directly to the President.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the President.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) MANUEL L. QUEZON

Ambeth Ocampo

IV

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES
1617 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C.

October 25, 1943

Dear Mr. President:

I have before me your letter of October 20, 1943, in which you declined to accept my proposition — that if it is believed desirable to allow your continuance in office after November 15, 1943, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Constitution, an authorization from Congress should be secured to that effect. In your letter, you also stated that your decision on this point is final.

I deeply regret that your decision should be thus as I was thinking of the possibility of finding a legal formula which would keep you at the helm of our Ship of State during the emergency should all the interested parties agree that such a course is really imperative. But if what I find to be the only just way of satisfying your wish, without violating the Constitution which we ourselves have sworn to uphold and defend, is not acceptable to you, then I have no other alternative but to follow your decision. I therefore withdraw the proposition contained in my letter to you of October 18, 1943.

In your letter you stated: 'I am and shall continue to be President only as long as under the Constitution of the Philippines I have the right to be President.' This is a very important statement as it implies an admission on your part that the Constitution of the Philippines is in force. Since you also admit that the Commonwealth Government, now established in Washington, is the *de jure* government of the Philippines, it follows that such government should operate and, in fact, has been operating all along, under the provisions of the Constitution. Thus, the problem of the Presidential succession resolves itself into this: Read the Constitution and follow it. This is what I am going to do.

Pursuant to your request, I will submit directly to the President of the United States my views on the question of the Presidential succession.

I am sending the President a copy of this letter.

Faithfully yours,

SERGIO OSMEÑA

AMBETH R. OCAMPO